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B Y

S T. C L A I R D R A K E

REPORT OF
Official Project 465-54-3-386
Conducted Under The Auspices Of The
Work Projects Administration
Horace R. Cayton, Superintendent

SPONSORS:
Institute For Juvenile Research
Dr. Paul L. Schroeder, Director
Prof. W. Lloyd Warner, University of Chicago

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FOREWORD

In November of 1936 a project was started under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago, and Horace R. Cayton of the Work Projects Administration, for the purpose of studying the cultural and social factors surrounding the problems of juvenile delinquency in the Negro community in Chicago. This study was financed and completely staffed through the Work Projects Administration, District 5, Chicago, Illinois, and was sponsored by the Institute for Juvenile Research. After the project had been carried on for some months it was decided that the situation presented an excellent opportunity to make an exhaustive study of a modern community, and a series of research projects dealing with various phases of the community life was subsequently inaugurated.

The present report is of one of the studies which dealt with churches and voluntary associations. This volume was written by St. Clair Drake. We are especially indebted to Mr. Drake as he, for a period of time, while a fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Fund contributed his time in outlining and preparing this study, and integrating it into the larger research in which we were engaged. Later, we were fortunate in obtaining Mr. Drake as a Superintendent of the project and the present work is an initial statement of the research which he conducted on this project. The report was edited by Mary Elaine Ogden.

A number of organizations co-operated with this study and allowed us the privilege of examining their records and of using data from unpublished sources. Mr. George Arthur of the Wabash Avenue Branch of the Y.M.C.A., made available data on church membership gathered under the direction of the

Y.M.C.A. The National Youth Administration allowed us access to its records, and for the privilege of using their valuable newspaper files we are indebted to The Chicago Defender and to Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines who has accumulated a file of the Broad Ax. Dr. Samuel Kincheloe, Professor of Social Ethics at the Chicago Theological Seminary supplied us with valuable data and base maps prepared by his research department. Dean H. H. Smith of the Chicago Baptist Institute not only displayed sympathetic interest throughout the study, but also rendered invaluable assistance in a number of ways.

Many other persons and organizations in the community co-operated to make our program of research possible. The Board of Trustees of the Good Shepherd Church, and its pastor, Rev. Harold M. Kingsley, made specific contributions to the study; and the Citizens Committee For Re-employment made possible the continuation of the project by liberally aiding the sponsor when it was thought the study could not be completed. Mr. Paul Lunt, Professor Earl Johnson, Dr. Louis Wirth, Dr. Robert E. Park, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Fred Eggan, and Mr. Leland C. DeVinney gave unstintingly of their time in advising us and guiding us in the many problems which arose during the course of this study.

We are particularly indebted to Dr. Paul L. Schroeder, Director of the Institute for Juvenile Research, which sponsored the projects, and to the following officials of District 3 of the Work Projects Administration: Mr. Stanley McKay and Mr. Frank J. Morris, who aided us in planning the projects; Dr. Ferris Laune, who gave us valuable criticisms and suggestions, and who directed the organization of the study; and Mrs. Amelia Baker, Mr. Frank J. Morris, Mr. James Moran, and Mr. Melvin L. Dollar, who, over a period of time co-operated with us in administering the study.

Horace R. Cayton

PREFACE

This study of churches and associations in the Chicago Negro communities is presented to the public as an initial report of the work done on a white-collar project of the Work Projects Administration. It is an outgrowth of a previous project designed to study "Cultural Factors in the Juvenile Delinquency," and its sponsor has been W. Lloyd Warner and the Institute for Juvenile Research. This study, however, is not concerned primarily with juvenile delinquency per se; rather it is concerned with the social milieu within which children become delinquent. Its contribution to the problem results from giving the remedial worker some conception of the community to which the delinquent must be adjusted.

Dr. Robert E. Park, in a suggestive article on "Community Organization and Juvenile Delinquency," has stressed the effect of the larger community on the emerging adolescent personality:

> Outside the circle of the family and the neighborhood, within which intimate and the so-called "primary relations" are maintained, there is the larger circle of influences we call the community; the local community, and then the larger, organized community represented by the city and the nation. And out beyond the limits of these there are beginning to emerge the vast and vague outlines of that larger world-community which Graham Wallas has described under the title, The Great Society.
>
> The Community, including the family, with its wider interests, its larger purposes, and its more deliberate aims, surrounds us, incloses us, and compels us to conform; not by mere pressure from without, not by the fear of censure merely, but by the sense of our interest in, and responsibility to, certain interests not our own.
>
> Only gradually, as he succeeds in accommodating himself to the life of the larger group, incorporating into the specific purposes and ambitions of his own life the larger and calmer purposes of the society in which he lives, does the individual man find himself quite at home in the community of which he is a part.
>
> If this is true of mankind as a whole, it is still more true of the younger person. The natural impulses of the child are inevitably so far from conforming to the social situation in which he finds himself that his relations to the community seem to be almost completely defined in a series of 'don'ts.' Under the circumstances juvenile delinquency is, within certain age-limits at least, not merely something to be expected; it may almost be said to be normal.
>
> It is in the community, rather than in the family, that our moral codes first get explicit and formal definition and assume the external and coercive character of municipal law.[3] /italics, ed./

With the role of the total community playing so important a part in the social orientation of the child, a study of churches and associations becomes important for persons interested in "The Youth Problem."

It has been attempted to throw the materials into a scientific framework so that students of city life may relate them to what is already known of associational and church life in the urban environment, and therefore, certain portions may be of less interest to laymen than others. It is hoped that this study may also be of some value to adult education teachers, group-work leaders, social workers, pastors, Sunday School workers, young people's groups and others for whom an understanding of organizational life among Negroes in Chicago is indispensable, and who have the task of interpreting the community to itself. Therefore, the treatment, on the whole, leans toward the popular.

Special mention should be made here of the work of Mr. Earl Taylor, my assistant, whose untiring labor and most unusual intelligence and tact was largely responsible for the encouraging co-operation of the city's ministers, and for the smooth working of the collection and analysis of the data. Thanks, too, are due to Mr. Harry I. Jones, who through his knowledge of the community rendered invaluable assistance; to Mr. George Franklin, who did much of the spadework in setting up the study; to Mr. James L. Williams, who handled the newspaper analysis with great skill; and to Mr. Leroy Mimms, Mr. Victor Novicki, and Mr. Jesse Whalen.

My colleagues, both on this research project and associated projects, have rendered invaluable counsel and advice, as well as making available their summaries and manuscripts. Manuscripts prepared by the following persons have been used in the study: Mary Gardner, Negro-White Relations in Chicago; John Given, The Negro Family in Chicago; Elmer Henderson, Educational and Legal Status of Negroes In Chicago; Winifred Ingram, Social Agencies in the Negro Community; Elizabeth Johns, A Study of Migration and Mobility of Negroes; George Francis McCray, Occupational Mobility of Negro Workers in Chicago; Mary Elaine Ogden, The Chicago Negro Community--A Statistical Description; Estelle Scott, Occupational Changes among Negroes in Chicago; Samuel Strong, Negro Types of Personality; Lawrence D. Reddick, A Social History of the Negro in Chicago; Viola Vanderhorck, Some Aspects of Negro Life in Chicago.

The persons who participated in the collection of the data, in the excerpting of interviews and secondary source material, and those who made the block by block survey upon which the tables and maps in the appendix are based, are too numerous to mention. Yet, this study represents the collective effort of a large number of persons, without whose co-operation and intellectual honesty this study could never have been made. We are grateful to Miss Hazel Hayes who drafted the preliminary manuscript for the section on "Churches and Associations During the Slavery Epoch," and the "Eighties and Nineties."

Project 3789 wishes to express its appreciation to Miss Mary Elaine Ogden, Superintendent of Project 3591, and to Mrs. Sophia S. Zimring and George Goldstein of the Syllabus of Research, a phase of the Omnibus Library Project, supervised by Thomas R. Hall. The attractive format of this volume must be attributed to their painstaking supervision of the publication processes. From the proofreading of the manuscript, through the mimeographing and assembling, they have, at every point, exhibited a professional competence and personal interest without which a very rough copy would never have become a finished product.

Finally, Project 3789 is deeply grateful for the wise direction and understanding insight displayed by Superintendent Horace R. Cayton, who whether as a scholar passing criticism on an idea, or as an administrator ironing out a piece of tangled red-tape, is equally at home; and who, while allowing perfect academic freedom, has insisted upon the high standard of work that has made the projects under his care, among the best in the State. It has indeed been a pleasant experience to have worked with him.

Various individuals not associated with the Project have given helpful suggestions, among them being: Mr. George Arthur, Executive Secretary of the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A.; Mr. Ashby Carter, Director for Religious Activities of the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A.; and Reverend Mr. Harold M. Kingsley of the Church of the Good Shepherd. Special mention should be made of Dean H. M. Smith of the Baptist Institute, whose "Three Negro Preachers" is the most penetrating analysis available of Negro church life in Chicago. Particular thanks are due to the hundreds of persons who gave information, but whom space will not permit us to mention.

A special word of appreciation is expressed to Professor W. Lloyd Warner to whom the project was indebted for advice and counsel. His wide experience in the study of modern communities was invaluable, and his criticisms of portions of the manuscript were particularly helpful.

St. Clair Drake

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds--religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or dimunitive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; they found in this manner hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling, by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.--

/Herbert Goldhamer, Voluntary Associations, quoting Alexis De Tocqueville's, Democracy in America (London: 1862)./

CHAPTER I

CHURCHES, ASSOCIATIONS, AND THE URBAN WAY OF LIFE

Observers of American life have commented frequently, and not always kindly, upon the vast number of voluntary associations to be found in American communities. Some have viewed the phenomenon with levity, jesting at a nation of "joiners"; others, more recently, have defended it as a healthy aspect of a free society where people may combine and recombine at will for purposes of their own choice, unhampered by the strait-jackets of a totalitarian state. Still others have been interested in understanding the cultural and psychological factors which have brought such institutions into being and maintained them. This study is mainly concerned with the latter point of view, although, at times, the other emphases may appear.

The task here is one of defining the structures of the society, of studying the manner in which they were formed, and of analyzing the individual's response to them. It is only upon the basis of this kind of understanding that social engineers--whether under governmental or private auspices--can plan intelligently for the future.

A walk through Chicago's "Black Belt" or a glance at the Chicago Defender, "The World's Greatest Weekly," is enough to suggest the extent and variety of organization among Chicago's 250,000 Negroes. Church edifices of some thirty denominations, ranging in size from South Parkway's large Catholic Corpus Christi--inherited by invading Negroes--to State Street's little, recently rented store-fronts, suggest the contrasts in size and power of the churches that claim the community's allegiance. Placards in store-windows call attention to dances, boat rides, picnics, or cabaret parties, and indicate the variety of recreations sponsored by social clubs, lodges, and other organizations.

Perhaps, one sees a picket, with his union sandwich sign, patrolling the street before a Jewish pawnshop or a Negro restaurant; a lad with his colorful monogrammed "sweat-shirt" and zipper bag hurrying to some gymnasium; or a synthetic Moor in his red fez on route to the "mosque." And should one wander through Washington Park, the playground of the South Side masses, one might see a little knot of Communists, pamphlets in hand, disputing under the trees with ardent Negro Nationalists who still dream of Marcus Garvey and his Royal African Legions. In numerous homes through the community, small groups gather nightly to play bridge; to go through the ritual of entertaining; to discuss plans for the future--giving of a dance, taking in new members, choosing delegates for some national convention--; or, maybe, just to gossip. And in close to five hundred churches a round of sacred and secular activities is constantly maintained.

This study has attempted to reduce such "acquaintance with" the voluntary social participation of the community, to some systematic statement of "knowledge about" it.

Voluntary Associations

--An Aspect of the "Urban Way of Life"--

The multiplicity of voluntary associations* which casual observers have felt to be characteristic of American life as a whole is most pronounced in the metropolitan regions and in those rural areas which are increasingly having their "way of life" set by the city. Dr. Louis Wirth has suggested in a very penetrating article[1] that the size of the population aggregate and the density and heterogeneity of the city are especially conducive to the development of associations, while the isolation of the urban individual and the diminishing importance of the family have forced the urbanite

> . . . . to exert himself by joining with others of similar interest into organized groups to obtain his ends. This results in an enormous multiplication of voluntary associations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests. . . . . It is largely through the activities of the voluntary groups, be their objectives economic, political, educational, religious, recreational, or cultural, that the urbanite expresses and develops his personality, acquires status, and is able to carry on the round of activities that constitute his life career.[2]

Summarizing the effects of the size of the population aggregate on associational life, Dr. Wirth states:

> Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. They are, to be sure, dependent upon more people for the satis-

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*The term "voluntary associations" as used in this study refers only to non-profit groups, and thus excludes businesses although in a strict sense, they too, are voluntary associations. It includes co-operatives, however. Churches are included, since in the modern world people choose to belong to their churches and are not born into them, as in medieval society.

> factions of their life-needs than are rural people and thus are associated with a greater number of organized groups, but they are less dependent upon particular persons, and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the other's round of activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts.[3]

Density, ". . . . reinforces the effect of numbers in diversifying men and their activities and in increasing the complexity of the social structure," while the heterogeneity of peoples and manners produces the "sophistication and cosmopolitanism of the urbanite," whose "undivided allegiance" no single group possesses. As Wirth points out:

> By virtue of his different interests arising out of different aspects of social life, the individual acquires membership in widely divergent groups, each of which functions with reference to a single segment of his personality. Nor do these groups easily permit of a concentric arrangement so that the narrower ones fall within the circumference of the more inclusive ones, as is more likely to be the case in the rural community or in primitive societies.[4]

This research has approached the data with Wirth's frame of reference, for

> By taking his point of departure from a theory of urbanism such as that sketched in the foregoing pages to be elaborated, tested, and revised in the light of further analysis and empirical research, it is to be hoped that the criteria of relevance and validity of factual data can be determined.[5]

In beginning this study of voluntary associations, the primary problem was one of describing as carefully as possible the actual associational structure, classifying individual associations, studying their activities and personnel, and attempting to relate associations to other structures in the society. Having secured a clear conception of associations as they exist in the community today, it is possible to trace the processes by which they came into being. The research worker may then proceed to relate what he knows of associations in the Negro community to

other existing knowledge about the city, particularly knowledge about associations among other racial or ethnic groups.

In order to approach the collection and interpretation of data with economy of time and effort, this research has made use of many of the techniques developed by Professor W. Lloyd Warner and his students in the study of Newburyport, Massachusetts and Natchez, Mississippi.* Here, the major emphasis was upon an analysis of activities and personnel in order to relate associations to the other structures--business, class, age, and sex--of the society. Techniques of studying the church have been largely those developed by H. Paul Douglass, C. Luther Fry, Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, Samuel Kincheloe, Benjamin Mays, Joseph Nicholson, Edmund de S. Brunner, and the Institute for Social and Religious Research.

In interpreting the materials and relating them to urbanism, the research has used the conceptual framework suggested by Mary Elaine Ogden and Horace R. Cayton in their unpublished manuscript, "Research on the Urban Negro."

Competition and the Urban Way of Life

One of the significant features of city life as opposed to rural life is its fluidity, and its large amount of mobility, both spatial and social. People do not "strike root" either in neighborhood or institution, and fashions are apt to be more important than inherited folkways. The city is a world of rapid change. Such a tempo of life affects even religious behavior pro-

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*Techniques of activity analysis from newspaper sources as developed by Mr. Paul Lunt in working on the Newburyport materials were particularly valuable. Analytical methods as developed by Professor Allison Davis, who made the study of the Natchez Negro community, under the direction of Professor Warner, have been used in many places.

foundly, and influences all types of voluntary associations. There is competition for members, for control, for prestige. Appeals shift and change in response to fashion. New associations and churches appear and disappear.

One important index to competition is the dominant role of fashion.* New patterns of behavior are elaborated as the city confronts the individual with new problems and new "gadgets," and these patterns often become crystallized in associational and church behavior, to last only until some new fashion arises. Throughout the organized life of the Negro community, the role of fashion is tremendously important in both "sacred" and "secular" associations.

Competition for Space and the Urban Way of Life

Sociologists have been interested for many years in competition for space as an aspect of urban life, noting that:

> In a competitively organized society, the distribution of population, and of economic and cultural functions is integrated around the market where commodities and services are exchanged between buyers and sellers. It is competition in a market which gives society its more or less ordered ecological base.[6]

Out of this interest has grown a vast number of ecological studies, defining the "ideal pattern" of city growth, characterizing distinctive zones within the city, and describing the ecological processes which give the city its structure, for, "the structure of the city is a product of competitive interaction between people, market facilities, transportation and

---

*Fashion, as used herein represents a type of expressive social movement based fundamentally on "differentiation" and emulation. The so-called upper classes set the pattern; the pattern is imitated by the lower classes. It must then be changed since it has lost its prestige. See Herbert Blumer's article, "Collective Behavior," in Robert Park, et al., An Outline of the Principles of Sociology (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1939), p. 275.

communication agencies, type of functions performed, and the site."[7]

Once a "segregated" area of like social and population types or similar industrial and commercial facilities has been formed by the processes of concentration and centralization, the resulting area may be subsequently disturbed by invasion of other population types or kinds of business and commerce, the end-result of an invasion cycle being succession. This then, is the modus operandi of city growth, according to the ecologists:

> City growth occurs either from the center outward, central growth, or along local lines of communication and transportation, axiate growth. Within the city, the basic distribution pattern is a series of concentric zones expanding from the center outward. In the expansion process each zone encroaches on the contiguous outer one creating the invasion-succession cycle.[8]

City "zones" can be discerned, beginning with a Retail Business District in the center (Chicago's "Loop," for example,) surrounded by an Interstitial Area, characterized by old buildings, light manufacturing, delinquency, vice, poverty, and personal disorganization. The Area of Workingmen's Homes is immediately outside of the interstitial area with the Apartment House and Residential Zone surrounding it. This latter area is usually fifteen or twenty minutes from the heart of the city with apartment houses on the main arteries and the better residences on the side streets. Outside of all of these zones is a Suburban Zone. Within these broad zones are found "natural areas" or "culture districts."[9] The Negro communities of Chicago are of this type.*

Students of the city church since the World War have accumulated a

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*See Appendix I for diagrammatic representation of city zones for Chicago and the relation of the Negro community to them.

large body of data on urbanism and the church, have developed some generally accepted techniques for study, and have drawn tentative conclusions. A definite attempt has been made to relate types of churches to ecological zones; and the "downtown church," of the central business district, and the "institutional church," of the interstitial area, have become definitely established "types." Churches have been proved responsive to the ecological processes, "scattered parishes" and "skewed parishes" being more typical of the city than "compact parishes." A church, it has been found, must adjust to invasion once its members begin to move, by either: (1) dying from lack of nearby adherents; (2) catering to stranded minorities; (3) moving with the type of population which has characterized it; (4) modifying its program to care for the incoming population; or (5) maintaining its original location and attempting to draw its members from a distance.[10] Church programs may thus be characterized in terms of their adaptation to the type of community in which they function, or the lack of such adaptation.

Students of secular organizations have also pointed out the effect of the ecological processes on the personnel and property of secular associations. The influence of the ecological processes is implicit throughout this study, and is summarized explicitly in the conclusions. For those particularly interested in ecology, a set of maps is included in the Appendix. A study of ecology, i.e., competition for space, is however, in the final analysis only an index to another kind of competition--competition for status:

> It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations; because physical distances, so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that statistics have any significance whatever for sociology.[11]

Social Competition and the Urban Way of Life

Acting both as cause and effect in relation to competition for space, is competition for other values in the society, both material and non-material. This competition becomes organized into competition within and between social classes, associations, businesses, and individuals. There are well defined mechanisms and modes of competition, and there are statuses at which one may "rest" in order to gather means and traits for another movement, or to train a child or friend how to maintain his position or move "up." People thus gain status in the city from the attainment of the objectives for which many persons are competing. Dr. Park has described this struggle for prestige, as follows:

> In this social and moral order the conception which each of us has of himself is limited by the conception which every other individual, in the same limited world of communication, has of himself, and of every other individual. The consequence is--and this is true of any society--every individual finds himself in a struggle for status: a struggle to preserve his personal prestige, his point of view and his self-respect. He is able to maintain them, however, only to the extent that he can gain for himself the recognition of everyone else whose estimate seems important; that is to say, the estimate of everyone else who is in his set or in his society. From this struggle for status no philosophy of life has yet discovered a refuge. The individual who is not concerned about his status in some society is a hermit, even when his seclusion is a city crowd. The individual whose conception of himself is not at all determined by the conceptions that other persons have of him is probably insane.[12]

Associations and churches not only help to give people a sense of "place" in society, but also serve as mechanisms by which they may change "place," communicate with people in other sections of social space, and widen the whole field of competition. Associations also represent the formal crystallization of many of the values of the society. The bulk of this study deals with the problem of the manner in which associations in Chicago are related to social competition--how they facilitate or retard it, how

they alter and conserve values, and how they help to determine the place of individuals in the society and give them their sense of worth.

Secularization and the Urban Way of Life

Not only is competition one of the most significant attributes of urban life, but a lessened emphasis on the "sacred" aspects of life is also characteristic. Dr. Park, in discussing the development of rationality in man has suggested:

> The reason the modern man is a more rational animal than his more primitive ancestor is possibly because he lives in a city, where most of the interests and values of life have been rationalized, reduced to measurable units and even made objects of barter and sale. In the city --and particularly in great cities--the external conditions of existence are so evidently contrived to meet man's clearly recognized needs that the least intellectual of people are inevitably led to think in deterministic and mechanistic terms.[13]

In religious parlance "people become worldly"--a phenomenon noted even in the days of Nineveh and Babylon. People "forget God" in the city.*

Secular activities become more important than sacred ones; churches become secularized through the diminishing importance of worship as contrasted with other church activities, and the power of the "sacred professional" diminishes as that of the "secular professional" increases.**

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*C. Luther Fry, in his report on Religion for the President's committee on Social Trends, calls attention to the fact that "Since 1900, the church has been forced to compete more and more with an ever increasing number of secular agencies and activities." He devotes much space to Sunday Movies, p. 1012.

**It is important to note, however, that church membership does not necessarily decrease in the city. The important thing is that the functions of the church change. Douglass and Brunner, commenting on the popular misconception that the church is weaker in the city than in the country, state:

"Engulfed as it is in masses of anonymous and ever-shifting population and dazed by rapid change which turns recruiting into a desperate attempt to fill up a bottomless bucket, the individual urban church--relatively a petty institution--will scarcely credit the statistics which show that city churches, collectively speaking, are succeeding better than rural ones."[14]

The most comprehensive summaries of the influence of the city on associational life are the reports on urbanism prepared for the National Resources Committee under the direction of Dr. Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago, and portions of F. Stuart Chapin's Contemporary American Institutions. The chapter in the latter book on the "Protestant Church in an Urban Environment" throws much light on the latent processes that go on within the institutional pattern and which are associated with adaptation of the institutional entity to the community; while the chapter on "Measuring the Patterns of Churches," has given many suggestive research leads which have been utilized in the present study.

Thus, throughout the study, the influences of urbanization on Negro institutional life will be examined. Such a study assumes two aspects: (1) the study of the growth of the community, in time, as it has become larger, more compact, and highly differentiated; (2) an analysis of the institutional complex as it exists today.

Needs and Interests --Biological and Cultural

As Dr. Wirth has suggested, the multiplicity of urban associations is related to the multiplicity of the needs and interests of the urbanite. These needs and interests are both biological and social, for

> The individual is a biological unit whose nature is determined by the organic hereditary process. But he comes at birth into a social environment, lives an associative life, and acquires a heritage and a personality as a result of interaction with other human beings. The subsequent working of the biological process is conditioned and controlled by the culture into which he is born, and by the fact of associative life.[15]

The "needs and interests" around which associations are elaborated are, in the first instance, biological, since the sheer struggle for biological survival* in the urban community involves the elaboration of "machinery" by which people may secure the food, clothing, shelter and medical care necessary to maintain life. The success of the Negro community in keeping alive can be measured by the demographer, and comparative data can be cited to indicate the relative success of the Chicago Negro community in this competitive struggle for existence in the urban milieu.

As Dr. Warner has pointed out in his Black Civilization,[16] a community may be viewed not only in its spatial aspects, but may be thought of also in terms of "levels of adaptation." Thus, at the first level, is man's adaptation to nature, a technology for controlling it; then an economic system for ordering the technology; next, a system of social organization; and finally, a system of "social logics," the absolute ideologies and sanctions operating in the society. Diagrammatically, the relationships might be portrayed thus:

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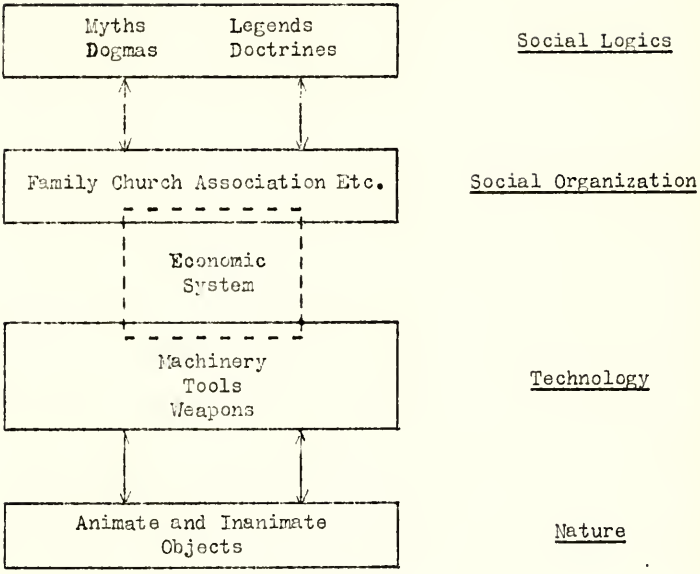
*Samuel J. Holmes, in a recent book, The Negro's Struggle for Survival, deals at length with this problem of biological survival.



These aspects of society are interrelated, and a change in one is reflected in the others.

The struggle to keep alive is never the bare process of securing, eating, and digesting food, and reproducing the species, for man's nature is "human" nature, and this implies wishes and urges which though they have an organic base are culturally expressed. Man has certain "appetites" and

> . . . . a variety of vague original or instinctive tendencies that predispose him to respond to certain situations without, however, determining the specific nature of the response that is made.[17]

Thomas has suggested that underlying human behavior are the "four wishes"--the wish for new experience, the wish for security, the wish for response, and the wish for recognition. Dr. Prescott, in his Emotion and the Educative Process,[18] has discussed in detail the "concept of need," dividing the needs of developing children into three categories: (1) physio-

logical; (2) social or status needs--relationships necessary for existence in the culture; (3) ego or integrative needs--"needs for experience and for the organization and symbolization of experience through which the individual will discover his role in life and learn to play it in such an effective manner as to develop a sense of worthy selfhood."[19]

Associations and churches are predominantly concerned in our society with the "social or status" needs and the "ego or integrative" needs, and these, in turn, are conditioned largely by the inherited ideologies of the society. Associations and churches operate as sanctions for and against specific types of behavior within a value-system.

The city may be viewed as a great arena in which people are competing for the material and non-material values of the society; in which their "accustomed standard of living" is undergoing continuous change, both in relation to the way in which they define their "needs and interests" and to the ability of individuals and groups to meet these needs.

Factors Conditioning Needs and Interests. Inherited Ideologies --Class

Negroes in Chicago participate in two ideological systems--a system of racial ideologies, and a system of general ideologies embodying the dogmas and myths of the democratic-national state, the capitalist economy, and the Christian-humanitarian tradition. Perhaps the most important aspect of the latter ideologies is that concerned with social class. The racial ideologies will be discussed in detail in the summary. The "class" ideologies are discussed in this section.

Rationalizing the whole competitive process in American life are the generally accepted dogmas of "progress," the belief that science and, por-

haps, religion have been gradually making this a "better world," and that individuals have the inalienable right to "get ahead," to "make money," to "get educated," to plan for the future of their children, and to enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is generally felt that although an individual may be, himself, too old to accumulate money or property, or to acquire an education, his children may do so, and much of the optimism which has characterized American life has been due to just this belief that "the next generation will get ahead even if ours didn't," and, until recently, the examples were numerous enough to keep alive the hope. This escape via progeny, constituting a vicarious experience of social mobility, has served to content many persons with their lot, especially if they were migrants to the city or immigrants from abroad.

Not only are ideologies formed around beliefs in the right to individual and social "progress," but they are also elaborated around the concept of "The American Standard of Living," much publicized by advertisers, although unknown, in reality, to large segments of the American people. The motive force behind the labor movement is, to some extent, the pursuit of this ideal.

Living in America demands a certain minimum standard of living without which an individual or groups of individuals will feel insecure. The general American culture contains "sub-cultures" with their accustomed standards of living based on traditions, ethnic, regional, or class, in origin. Maintaining these accustomed standards of living* in modern Western

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*The author is indebted to Professor Allison Davis of Dillard University for the suggestion that the accustomed standard of living is a significant factor in studying social changes.

European societies demand a certain minimum income, which will allow an individual a sense of freedom* and permit him to meet the standards of what he considers his proper place in society. Thorstein Veblen has made the classic statement of this fact in his discussion of "The Pecuniary Standard of Living."

> For the great body of the people in any modern community the proximate ground of expenditure in excess of what is required for physical comfort is not a conscious effort to excell in the expensiveness of their visible consumption, so much as it is a desire to live up to the conventional standard of decency in the amount and grade of goods consumed. . . . . Conspicuously wasteful honorific expenditure that confers spiritual well-being may become more indispensable than much of that expenditure which ministers to the "lower" wants of physical well-being or sustenance only. It is notoriously just as difficult to recede from a "high" standard of living as it is to lower a standard which is already relatively low; although in the former case the difficulty is a moral one, while in the latter it may involve a material deduction from the physical comforts of life.[20]

Karl Marx, another keen analyst of the relationships between biological and cultural factors in society, commented vividly on this same relationship: "Hunger is hunger, but hunger that is satisfied with cooked meat eaten with knife and fork is a different kind of hunger from one that devours raw meat with the aid of hands, nails, and teeth."[21] A more ancient and orthodox source reminds us, too, that "Man does not live by bread alone," and many lands have folk sayings similar to the Persian proverb, "If I had but two loaves I should sell one and buy white hyacinths to feed my soul."

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*George Simmel alludes to money as "the symbol of modern life," and suggests that one of the great functions of money is to "liberate" the individual by giving him access to a wider range of goods and services thus allowing him more choices, without making his prestige depend on the possession of any one type of possession, such as land in a feudal order. (See N. J. Spykman, The Social Theory of George Simmel, Book III.)

Robert S. Lynd has suggested that there are factors which make persons contented with, and even concerned to preserve, a "lower" standard of living than a scientifically attested minimum, or one customary in another segment of the society. After mentioning amount of income and family as factors in determining the consumption pattern, he discusses another, personality factors, as determined by the conflicts between.

> The lingering Puritan tradition of abstinence which play idleness and free spending sin; and the increasing secularization of spending and the growing pleasure basis of living.
>
> The tradition that rigorous saving and paying cash are the marks of sound family economy and personal self respect; and the new gospel which encourages liberal spending to make the wheels of industry turn as the duty of the citizen.
>
> The deep rooted philosophy of hardship, viewing the stern discipline as the inevitable lot of men; and the new attitude toward hardship as a thing to be avoided by living in the here and now, utilizing installment credit and other devices to telescope the future into the present.
>
> The tradition that the way to balance one's budget is to cut one's expenses to fit one's income; and the new "American solution" by increasing one's income to fit one's expenditures.
>
> The increasingly baffling conflict between living and making money in order to buy a living; and the tendency public and private, to simplify the issue by concentration on the making of money.[22]

Insofar as classes of the population are dominated by the "conservative" alternative in the above statements, their standard of living and conception of their "needs" and "interests" tend to be simple, and their demands on the economy are not aggressively pursued.*

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*The conservative attitude toward consumption is reflected in many religious hymns. For instance:

"We are oftimes destitute
Of the things that life demands,
Want of shelter and of food,
Thirsty hills and barren lands,
But we're trusting in His word,
And we're leaning on the Lord,
We'll understand it better by and by."

The more secularized Negroes often criticize the race for its attitude of "Take the World and Give Me Jesus."

Few precise studies have been made on the problem of what various groups consider a minimum standard of living for themselves and their families, although there must be a point for everyone where (1) he loses his sense of security, and (2) another beneath which he cannot exist without openly revolting against the society or committing suicide. Various agencies have attempted to arrive at scientific minimum standards of decency, and such attempts have usually assigned large sections of the population to the sub-poverty level. Careful budget studies during a period of economic depression could throw some light on the problem of what people consider a minimum standard of living, by revealing the classes of articles in which reductions are first made, but extensive studies of this type are not available.

President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends suggested the role of advertising in conditioning people to new consumption habits.

> The rising trend of money incomes after 1900 meant that millions of families had more money to spend than ever before. The shortening of the working hours meant that these consumers had more leisure in which to enjoy goods. The expansion of physical output meant that business men had a larger volume of goods to market. That recently invented bulked large among these products meant that manufacturers and merchants had to teach masses of men and women new tastes and ways. The changes which occurred in consumption habits before the depression seem explicable mainly in terms of these four underlying trends.[23] [italics, ed.]

(American racial ideologies are, in the final analysis derivative and are counter-ideologies to the general ideologies, for they assume that Negroes have the right to "advance," i.e., acquire traits of the Western "Civilized" societies.)

Factors Conditioning Associations and Churches

--Economic--

The ideologies discussed above are closely connected with, and to some extent, are determined by, the type of economic system

which organizes the technology of the modern world. This system of business and industry in America affects associational and church life indirectly at every point. It affects it more or less directly in three ways: (1) by distributing the population in such a way as to make differentials in income, resulting in varied social strata with their characteristic "ways of life"; (2) by making it necessary for associations and churches to finance themselves, thus placing great emphasis on "raising money", (3) by exercising control over institutions through propaganda and gifts; (4) by the repeated occurrence of economic crises as a regular part of the business cycle.

The American economic system, even in a non-depression era, distributes the population into a pyramid of economic and social power and prestige. This process and the resulting structure has been well described as follows:

Occupation and Stratification

> Modern social organization has an occupational basis. Occupation may be defined "as that specific activity with a market value which an individual continually pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow of income." Occupation serves as the link binding individuals to the social order. It creates stout cables which tie each individual to many others in three ways: technologically--through the specific manual and mental operations implied in the execution of work--economically--by the income yield of an occupation which provides livelihood; and socially--through the prestige attached to the occupation in accordance with the mores of the community. The income yield and the prestige attached to an occupation create functional and structural stratification in the social order. Social and economic evaluation of occupations determines differences in: (a) an individual's function in the ecological order; (b) his proportion of the group's sustenance (wealth); and (c) his social status, plane of living, and ecological position in the community.
>
> The division of individuals into definite social strata on the basis of occupational function is universal in modern society. The ecological linkage of individual--occupation--position in social strata is found in all industrialized countries. So well balanced are the ecological factors operating in conjunction with the socio-psychological and cultural, that although the personnel of any specific occupational strata is highly mobile, the proportions between the principal strata remain relatively constant over a long time span.

Strata in Occupational Pyramid

Technological, economic, and social relations which obtain among members of occupational groups bind them into an interdependent ecological unity known as the occupational pyramid. Technologically, each class is characterized by an increasing specialization of function as we move from the undifferentiated manual labor at the bottom to the highly trained expert at the top. Numerically, a smaller and smaller number occupy each class as one ascends the pyramid. Psychologically, the classes are characterized by a developing esprit de corps, from the inarticulate, fluid, unskilled stratum up to the closely organized corporate existence found in the higher strata.

The broad groups of economic classes in our culture are as follows:

Day Laborers and Unskilled Factory Hands. They have nothing to offer but bodily strength; almost any adult is able to perform the functions demanded of this group. Wages are low and work is intermittent; little or no training is needed. This group has the lowest standard of living, and occupies the most undesirable portions of the community's living quarters. In the United States about 29 per cent of the gainfully employed are engaged in the performance of course, heavy work.

Semi-skilled Tenders of Machinery. This class is made up of truck drivers, machine tenders, oilers, et cetera. Wages are usually paid by the week, employment is fairly continuous, wages are higher, living standards better, and the period of productivity longer; and some degree of education is found. Approximately 16 per cent of the gainfully employed fall into this stratum.

The Skilled Workman. Here we find carpenters, machinists, masons, radio technicians, skilled mechanics and others, who have undergone a period of training and enjoy a considerable amount of personal responsibility. Better wages, considerable education, a long period of productivity, fluctuating standards of living, and a high degree of consensus characterize this class. It comprises 13 per cent of the gainfully employed.

White Collared Lower Middle Class. Clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers, and other small-salaried groups. Definite specialization of function preceded by some training is representative of individuals in this class. They enjoy a long period of productivity and their social status is much higher than their income warrants. Sixteen per cent of gainfully employed fall into this category.

The Middle Class. Farmers, shopkeepers, small businessmen, and small-property owners. Each specialized occupation has its own characteristics, but on the average this group has a considerable back-log of real wealth, a high standard of living, and a high degree of social responsibility. Twelve per cent of the gainfully employed are farmers; 7 to 8 per cent are small proprietors, managers, and operators of businesses.

The Professional Classes,--doctors, lawyers, engineers, professors, politicians, clergy, higher civil service employees, and other professionally trained people. Here exists a wide range of income, but the period of training and productivity is long. The continuous cultural

specialties are perpetuated in these groups. Higher social prestige is attached to them than income warrants. Six per cent of the gainfully employed fall into this class.

Financial Overlords and Industrial Executives. Here is found centralized economic power in the hands of a few. Specialization has reached its highest point, manual skill is almost non-existent; manipulation of economic factors is its function. This class generally receives a high proportion of the total sustenance of the community, state, and nation. Numerically, it comprises from .5 to 1 per cent of the gainfully employed.

The Leisure Class. In this class there is enough hereditary wealth to assure its members an income independent of any occupation. Here is found the smallest group in the occupational pyramid. In general, its members enjoy the largest proportion of the group sustenance relative to size of the group; their prestige and ecological position are supreme. Less than .5 per cent of the gainfully occupied are in this class. Its prestige depends on biological heredity, education, lack of occupation, scale of living, and possessions.

We do not wish to imply that these broad economic and social groupings are the only ones in our culture, nor do we infer that they will be found in every community, for there are wide variations in the size and complexity of communities. All of these classes would certainly be found in a metropolitan center like New York or Chicago, where more than 20,000 different occupations are listed by the census; but a small rural community, for instance in the Tennessee Mountains, might have only four or five occupations listed, such as farmer, general merchant, minister, teacher, and possibly a doctor. The above classification is not meant to be definitive, but indicative of the broad functional classes into which the general population falls as it seeks to satisfy its sustenance and cultural needs.[24]

Such stratification is very important in studying the personnel and activities of association, for it is well known that certain churches and associations tend to be "upper class" and others "lower." Students of associational life have also noted significant differentials in the number and kind of memberships by socio-economic levels. The most significant work of this type is found in the unpublished studies of Professor W. Lloyd Warner on Newburyport, Massachusetts and Allison Davis on Natchez, Mississippi, and in the work of the Lynds on Middletown, Lundberg on New York, Brunner on rural communities, and the extensive work of Harlan Paul Douglass, Fry, Hollenbeck, Kincheloe, and Mays and Nicholson on American churches.[25]

Goldhamer,[26] summarizing all of the available studies on associations concluded that a great proportion of the membership in American associations is concentrated in the upper and middle income groups, and that this is particularly true of non-instrumental or recreational associations. While he was cautious in his generalizations, he felt that ". . . . there exists, in general, a high positive correlation between income level and the number of associations in which membership is held."[27]

Working class membership tends to be confined to lodges and trade unions in the areas which have been studied, for "economically, the larger part of the working class population appears unable to support or participate in organizations whose aim is purely recreational."[28] Insofar, as membership in associations and churches is a part of the accepted pattern for a given socio-economic level of the population, and insofar as associations and churches are utilized to secure a larger share of the national income for individuals and groups, or to teach them to adjust at the lower levels this factor of consumption habits and available income is important to this study. Not only does the economic system affect associations through the distribution of the population into a power-prestige pyramid, but also by the recurrent economic cycles, which are a part of the system.

President Hoover's Committee, commenting on these periodic crises stated in 1932, that:

> In the halcyon days of 1925-1929, there were many who believed that business cycles had been "ironed out" in this favored land. Everyone now realizes that we have been suffering from one of the severest depressions in our national history. Those who are acquainted with the past experience anticipate that, while business will revive and prosperity return, the new wave of prosperity will be terminated in its

turn by a fresh recession, which will run into another period of depression, more or less severe.

Whether these recurrent episodes of widespread unemployment, huge financial losses and demoralization are an inescapable feature of the form of economic organization which the western world has evolved is a question which can be answered only by further study and experiment.* That the severity of the current depression has been due in large measure to non-cyclical factors is generally admitted. But this admission means merely that besides checking the excesses of booms, we must learn how to avoid errors of other types as well before we can hope to make full use of the productive possibilities which modern technology puts at our disposal. . . . . Probably no other large community ever attained so high a level of real income as the inhabitants of the United States enjoyed on the average in, say, 1925-1929.

But even in good times it is clear that we do not make full use of our labor power, our industrial equipment, our natural resources and our technical skill. . . .in the best of years millions of families are limited to a meager living. The effective limit upon production is the limit of what consumers will absorb at profitable prices, and this limit is set by the purchasing power at the disposal of would be consumers. . . . . The task of maintaining a tolerable balance between the supply of and demand for the innumerable varieties of goods we make . . . . seem to grow no easier.

When these balances have been greatly disturbed, business activity is checked by a recession, which is followed by a depression of industry, trade and finance. . . . . The income of the whole population falls by 10 and 20 per cent. . . . . And these average losses are accompanied by appalling individual tragedies in millions of cases, scattered through all classes of society, but commonest among those who have few reserves.

To maintain the balance of our economic mechanism is a challenge to all the imagination, the scientific insight and the constructive ability which we and our children can muster. (italics, ed.)[29]

The effect of the depression on associations has been carefully studied by the Lynds[30] and by the President's Committee.[31] The present study was made during a phase of a "depression" which began in 1929, and therefore, the Negro community must be examined in the light of that economic situation. In 1930, the nearest census year to 1929, there were 233,903 Ne-

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*The socialist followers of Karl Marx insist that crises are inevitable under capitalism, and that only a socialist system in which private control of industry has been abolished can "iron out" the cycles. Most American economists, however, propose a "modified capitalism rather than socialism as a method of checking the cycle."

groes in Chicago, 6.9 per cent of the total population of the city. Four years later there were 238,305, an increase of 1.62 per cent. There is some evidence to indicate that migration has continued during the depression years at a high rate due to the collapse of cotton tenancy in the South, inadequate relief for Negroes in these regions, and the availability of WPA employment in northern urban communities. Associational and church life reflect the "Depression."

Factors Conditioning Associations and Churches --Social Organization--

Churches and associations are in functional relationships with all the other structures in the society--the state, the school, the family--as well as with the economic system. The politician, the businessman, the parent, the teacher are all functioning in the nexus of inter-associational activity--using, and being used by, the organizations.

The most important feature of both the ideological and social system, to Negroes, is their place in them,--an aspect of the problem discussed in the summary.

The Functional Approach

In the final analysis, we are interested in the "function" of associations and churches, i.e., the part they play in the total system of social integration of which they are a part. As Radcliffe-Brown has stated:

> By using that phrase, social integration, I am assuming that the function of culture as a whole is to unite individual human beings into more or less stable social structures; i.e., stable systems of groups determining and regulating the relation of those individuals to one another, and providing such adaptation to the physical environment, and such internal adaptation between the component individuals or groups, as to make possible an ordered social life.[32]

The mobility of the city and the position of the Negro in it are not conducive to an "ordered social life" among Negroes, as a whole, but in

those segments where order is the rule, and at those times when order is imposed on the disorganized, associations and churches play their part. It is possible to measure the degree of social integration against Radcliffe-Brown's ideal type--"culture."

Classification of Associations

The functional approach demands a classification of associations on the basis of activity-type, to which can be related the system of meanings which the participants and others attach to the behavior.

In classifying associations according to activities it is necessary to know the manner in which the time and money of the members acting as a group is consumed. It is then possible to get some large groupings for "typing" behavior. As a heuristic device for analyzing associational behavior, we might divide associational activities into two main categories, instrumental and expressive, the former being behavior designed to exercise power or control over things and people; the latter having no such end, but being satisfied with the mere functioning of the organism in a socially approved situation. Either type of behavior may have "sacred" or "secular" sanctions. The diagram on page 27 gives the characteristic types of behavior and type-associations.*

The types of voluntary associations existing at a given time in a community are partly a function of past needs and interests, and partly a function of the present. Many such groups change their purposes and activities through the years, thus "purchasing" prolonged life, while others

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*Custom has already given us a vocabulary for naming various types of associations, such as "social clubs," "lodges," "churches," "labor unions," "service clubs." A more refined typology is included in the appendix.

die from "honesty" or inability to adapt. It is obvious that associations may be approached both from the point of view of (1) their stated purposes and (2) their actual activities. This has been done in the present research.

	Orientation Toward Needs and Interests of "Ego" or a small group	Orientation Toward Needs and Interests of "Society" or "God"
Type of Behavior	"Secular" Sanctions Class Guild Association Clique	"Sacred" Sanctions Race Nation Religion
Instrumental	Type Organizations: Lodge Labor Union Type Behavior: Seeking economic benefits for an individual family or small group. Protecting economic or prestige interests of a small group. "Solving Problems" (Individual)	Type Organizations: Racial Defense Organizations Revolutionary Organizations Type Behavior: Raising money for a "cause" Legal aid, crusades, etc. "Solving Problems" (Social)
Expressive	Type Organization: Social Club Type Behavior: Playing cards Dancing "Spending Leisure Time"	Type Organization: Church Type Behavior: Worship "Worshipping God"

Since both the economic system and the ideological system, as well as the social organization, represent a "growth in time," this study devotes the first section, Chapter II, to a historical treatment of church and associational life in Chicago--a treatment which though by no means exhaus-

tive, seeks to depict the operation of ecological, ideological, and economic forces on associational and church life in crisis situations, and in "normal" times. The second section, Chapters III-VI, is a study of the contemporary community.

CHAPTER II

THE INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE

The present Negro community is a product of growth in time. Whatever traditions are present constitute heritages of the past, partly of the city and partly of the area from which the migrants come. Before proceeding to an analysis of the community as it is today, it would be instructive to view it in the process of "becoming." For convenience, we have adopted the broad historic periods as used by Mays and Nicholson in their study of The Negro's Church, viz.:

The Slavery Epoch	1750-1859
The Civil War Epoch	1860-1865
The Post Civil War Epoch. . .	1866-1899
The New Century Epoch	1900-1914
The Migrant Epoch	1915-1930

Within these broad divisions we have treated the material by decades in order to make comparisons from census year to census year.

Out of the historic process have emerged a social structure and a group of traditional beliefs and practices, which though undergoing continuous modification, have displayed a remarkable amount of persistence in time.

The present analysis falls within what Mays and Nicholson might call "The Depression Epoch" 1930-1939, and while no attempt is made to make a precise statistical study of the effects of the depression on contemporary church and associational life, its effect is implicit throughout.

- Slavery Epoch -

The first of these epochs was between the years 1750 and 1859. During this period racial consciousness was roused by the controversy over slavery. Slavery as an institution was challenged by its adversaries. Operators of the underground railway were busily engaged transporting slaves to freedom. On the other hand, those citizens with pro-slavery sentiments were busy maintaining the institution. This controversy found its way into the churches. The reactions of the southern religious bodies were decidedly pro-slavery. The Negroes in many of the predominantly white churches voluntarily withdrew or were forced out. And, likewise, the whites withdrew from churches which were predominantly Negro.

Approval or disapproval of the institution of slavery was expressed, not only in the local churches, but by denominations as well. Large denominations like the Methodist and the Presbyterian found themselves divided on the issue; their divided sympathies were definitely influenced by the geographical regions in which their people lived.

/Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, The Negro's Church (New York: Institute for Social and Religious Research, 1933), p. 20./

The Pre-Civil War Era

In order to understand the growth of churches and associations in the Chicago Negro communities, it is necessary to review briefly the historical processes which have resulted in the present institutional forms among Negroes in America. In 1934, there were nearly 250,000 persons classified as Negroes in Chicago, (6.9 per cent of the total population), the basis of this classification being that all of these persons had some ancestors of African origin, who in most cases, were held as slaves in the United States between 1619 and 1865, and who, because of features, hair texture, and color are easily recognized as being "Colored," and are thus classified as members of a special social group. A very few persons of such ancestry whose high proportion of white blood permits them to "pass" are probably classified by census takers as white.*

Color has served as a convenient classificatory trait, and has made the assimilation of Negroes into the total society extremely difficult. It has become a master symbol around which a group of derogatory attitudes cluster, which make easy the defense of discrimination and segregation against Negroes on the basis of assumed inherent racial inferiority, despite the weight of scientific evidence to the contrary.

The first Negroes in the United States were brought into Virginia as indentured servants during the seventeenth century, a period when there was a conflict between the demands of the plantation system in the South for

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*"Passing" is sometimes done for economic reasons in order to secure employment otherwise denied Negroes and ranges from "part-time passing" on the job to complete severance of ties with Negroes.

a stable labor supply and the pull of the free lands to the West.[1] In such a situation, the cultural and physical differences between white and Negro indentured servants, and the successful experiences of West Indian planters with Negro slaves, made it easy for the American planters to excuse, first, in terms of religious differences, and, later, of biological differences, the changing of the Negroes' status from that of indentured servants to that of hereditary slaves; thus a slave-system developed as one feature of a semi-feudal plantation economy. The presence of a different system of agriculture in the North and West, and the growing industrialization in these regions, made slavery unprofitable there.

Throughout the seventeenth century, when the status of Negroes was being "fixed" by law and custom in the South, the individualistic Protestant ethic was being contradicted by the social reality of slavery, and this was frequently pointed out by both white and Negro ministers; also, the humanitarian "natural rights" philosophy, represented by men like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, was openly critical of slavery, and would perhaps have been strong enough to organize sentiment for its abolition--particularly in the Southeast where the plantation cycle was in its late stages*--had not the invention of the cotton-gin given a new lease of life to the cotton economy. Anti-slavery sentiment was strong enough, however, to secure a provision in the Constitution for the abolition of the slave-trade after 1808.

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*Edgar T. Thompson's The Plantation, gives an excellent analysis of the plantation in America and introduces the reader to the work of Hermann Nieboer, who developed the conception of the plantation as a characteristic feature of a land of "open resources." Thompson outlines a series of "stages" from Slavery to a peasant economy.

It is generally agreed that the slaves, on the whole, were conditioned to the acceptance of the system, but there is sufficient evidence--from letters, songs, and records--of revolts, to indicate widespread dissatisfaction; and a large body of free Negroes in the southern cities was always a challenge to the system.*

During the middle of the nineteenth century, the continuous agitation of the abolitionists focused attention both in America and abroad on the slave system, and an opposition movement to slavery on religious and humanitarian grounds became a definite trend among intellectual and religious circles of the North, who appealed to the "sacred" traditions of both the Scriptures and the Declaration of Independence. The conjunction of these ethical interests with the economic and political interests of the northern workers and capitalists resulted in the Emancipation of the slaves after four years of bloody civil war. It is significant that during the period of agitation, Negroes took part in the movement by speaking, writing, and "voting with their feet," that is, running away; and 1,811 of them, from Illinois alone, served as soldiers in the Union Armies,[2] as well as about two hundred thousand from the country as a whole.

It was during this hectic period that Chicago was founded, and that the local Negro community began to take form. In 1843, there were less than five hundred Negroes in Chicago. By 1860, there were more than a thousand.

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*Students until recently have emphasized the fact that slaves were well accommodated to the system. Bertram Doyle's Etiquette of Race Relations is the most comprehensive statement of this point of view. Recent authors working with hitherto neglected materials have revised this picture considerably. Among these later contributions are Joseph C. Carroll's Slave Insurrections, 1800-1865 and G. G. Johnson's Ante-Bellum North Carolina. L. D. Reddick's Ph. D. Thesis (unpublished), "The Negro in the New Orleans Press, 1850-1860," contains an illuminating record of the aggressive behavior of slaves and free Negroes in a southern urban situation.

The present institutional complex in Chicago is a result of over one hundred years of growth, Negroes having appeared in Chicago among the "first settlers." In fact, the very first non-Indian resident was a cultured Negro trader of French name and descent, Jean Baptiste Point De Saible.* (His name is now preserved to memory by a high school in the heart of the Negro community.) He, however, did not remain in Chicago, but returned to St. Louis from whence he had come to Chicago, and left no known heirs. He was a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church and his trading post was a center for gatherings in the small frontier community.

There is little evidence that there were any separate Negro institutions, other than the family, existing in Chicago prior to the 40's, but during the late 40's Negro churches began to appear. It is with these origins that we shall be concerned in the first part of this chapter since it is from these small beginnings that the thousands of Negro institutions, secular and sacred, have developed.

The small Negro community of the pre-Civil War era seems to have been fairly homogeneous, socially, and was concentrated in the area between Clark and State Streets, near Harrison, although this was in no sense an all Negro neighborhood,** and the Negro and white population lived side by side. The Negro people were integrally related to the white society; both work and worship, and to some extent, play, brought many of them into face to face

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*For a detailed discussion of the Negro in Chicago prior to 1830, see Chapter I, "De Saible and his Day" of Lawrence D. Reddick's "A Social History of the Negro in Chicago," prepared as a part of this research. This social history is a detailed treatment of the growth of the Negro community, and the historical section of this study is deeply indebted to this manuscript.

**In 1860, Clark and State Streets were called Third and Fourth Avenues, respectively.

contacts with their white neighbors. Early, however, separate Negro institutions began to develop, slowly at first, and very dependent upon the white community for moral and financial support. In 1860, when the Union soldiers began to encamp across from the old University of Chicago site at Thirty-fourth and Cottage Grove, there were approximately one thousand Negroes living in the city. This population, swelled by the never ceasing stream of fugitive slaves fleeing the South, had grown from 323 ten years before.[3]

Churches in The Pre-Civil War Era in Chicago

Many of the southern refugees went on to Canada, but some elected to stay in Chicago, adding bit by bit to the small community. They brought with them the remnants of their plantation culture and the traditions of the southern cities. With them came a tradition of separate churches,* their own songs, their folk customs. To this group were added the migrants from northern cities and the rural areas of the North who came into the rapidly growing western town. These migrants entered a society which already had some institutional forms, for as early as 1850, there was a Negro Baptist Congre-

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*The first formally organized Negro church in America is said to have been founded at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, between 1773-1775, although it is probable that groups of Negroes worshipped together long before this. The general pattern, however, was for Negroes to worship, "Jim Crow," in white congregations. The first Negro Baptist church was organized in Savannah, Georgia, about 1779--a frame structure erected on a white man's lot in Yamacraw. Separate Negro congregations were prevalent in southern cities by 1840, and secret meetings were held on many plantations.

A Negro Methodist Church was erected by a free Negro in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1790, and Negroes frequently preached to white and mixed congregations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first all-Negro denomination, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was founded as early as 1816 in Philadelphia.

gation in Chicago, and a colored Baptist Association in Illinois.* There is some evidence that white New Englanders residing in Chicago aided in establishing these churches, for a contemporary account states that they "had such sympathy for their black neighbors that the atmosphere is at least healthful enough for such an organization to thrive."[4]

The white Baptist convention passed resolutions in 1847, 1848, 1850, and 1851, denouncing fugitive slave legislation, sending funds for missionary work among Negroes in the South, and assisting in the escape of fugitives to Canada, declaring anent the Fugitive Slave Laws, that:

> We protest against such enactments in the name of humanity, in the name of Christianity, and in the name of the supreme God, and declare to the world that we treat all such legislation as null and void--and declare that in the face of fines and imprisonment, we will obey God rather than man.[5]

In 1847, Quinn Chapel A. M. E. church was organized. Pierce reports the circumstances as follows:

> In 1847, the Methodists suffered no schism over the slavery question; they were in no degree less interested in saving the souls of their colored brethren within the city. In token of this interest, the Quinn Chapel Methodist Episcopal church was set up to provide for the colored folk. For a time the society occupied a building on Wells Street. [Italics ours][6]

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*This association, The Wood River Association, organized in 1838, is the second oldest Negro Baptist Association in America. The Committee on the Destitution of Baptist Preaching in Illinois, of the Illinois Baptist State Convention (white) reported in 1848 that "There is the colored association of 14 churches, 9 preachers, 6 licentiates, and 243 members, scattered over the state from Shawneetown to Galena and Chicago . . . . . Last year, by help of funds obtained from white friends, this association sent one of the ministers on an agency to Liberia to examine and report on the conditions of the colony. He returned to meet the Association last August, made a favorable report of the country, which is to be published." Minutes of Illinois Baptist State Convention, 1848, p. 16.

This man died in 1852 and the Convention memorialized him as follows: ". . . . affable in his deportment, respectable in scholarship, kind and affectionate in his social relationships, esteemed by all." Minutes of Illinois Baptist State Convention, 1852, p. 9.

Fisher relates the history of the founding of the Baptist church as follows: "Tradition has it that John Larmon and Samuel McCoy, who still lives, met April 6, 1850, in the home of Sallie Jackson and organized the Xenia* Baptist Church."[7]

The Chicago Daily Journal, on July 29th, 1850, two months after the founding of Zoar, commented on the growth of the A. M. E. church and on the remarkable behavior and conformity to the "American cultural pattern" of the expatriated Africans:

> Our readers may not be aware that the colored population of this city has a very neat church edifice on Wells Street, and that it is crowded every Sabbath to its fullest capacity. We passed it last evening after the services had commenced, and have rarely seen a better appearing congregation whether in point of apparel or decorum.** Such evidences speak volumes for the enterprise of those whose fathers dwelt long ago, where the White Nile wanders through its golden sands.[8]

Five months later, the same paper was still impressed by the religious aspirations, and what it considered the laudable behavior of the colored people among them:

> The colored people, a large number of whom are residents in this city, are making an effort, likely to prove successful, to procure "stated preaching,"*** as the saint of Sandy Hill would say. They have a plain, but neat church edifice, which is thronged whenever opened for services, with a congregation, that in point of decorum and personal appearance, will by no means suffer in comparison with other congregations, of greater pretensions in greater houses.[9]

During the winter of 1850, "stated preaching" was secured, and the Journal, still encouraging Chicago's some three thousand Negroes, intimated

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*Xenia was a corruption, in the document, of the word Zoar.

**That white persons did not always pass the Negro Church by is evidenced by the fact that newspapers occasionally report white persons as being present at Negro churches. For instance, see Chicago Daily Journal, March 27, 1856, p. 3.

***"Stated preaching" refers to regular preaching services.

that the Methodists were somewhat stronger than their Baptist brethren:*

> The colored population of this city are endeavoring to sustain two Churches--a Methodist and a Baptist. The former is prosperous--they have "stated preaching" and ordinarily a crowded house. Their church edifice is neat and sufficiently commodious for their present congregation. George Johnson is the pastor.[11]

According to Fisher, this Negro Baptist "church" was actually a group of five persons, who worshipped in a private home until 1853, when they organized the Zoar Baptist Church. The Journal, however, indicates that either Zoar was already occupying a building in 1850, or that there was another Negro Baptist congregation in Chicago.

In 1853, the African Methodists were erecting a building. The Journal, ever watchful and helpful, appealed to the white community to be "liberal toward aiding this laudable enterprise."[12]

Finally, on a Wednesday afternoon at 4:00 P.M., in April, 1853, on the corner of Jackson and Buffalo Streets, the Reverend James E. Wilson, the pastor, laid the corner-stone of the A. M. E. church and School House with "appropriate exercises."

> The ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Methodist African Episcopal Church and School House, will take place on Wednesday next, at four o'clock, corner of Jackson and Buffalo Streets, South side. An address will be delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. James E. Wilson, Pastor of the African Methodist Church, followed by other appropriate exercises. The building proposed to be erected by their Society, is to be 40 by 60 feet, and constructed at an estimated cost of three thousand dollars.[13]

Thirteen hundred out of the three thousand dollars had already been subscribed. During the next four months, the men and women endeavored

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*Woodson states that the growth of Negro Baptist churches in the North was slow because "neither the majority of the Negroes nor a large percentage of the whites . . . . belonged to the Baptist church," and Methodism was a "radical independent movement."[10]

strenuously "by all honorable means to raise funds to fully complete their house of worship,"[14] and the ladies "materially aided their brethren in the good cause."[15] One "Honorable" means of raising money was a Fair sponsored by the Sewing Society, which for three evenings displayed the members' handicraft for sale: ". . . . articles that they have manufactured which, for nicety and neatness, will well compete with articles that have been exhibited for sale by any other society in this city."[16] The little community of three hundred Negroes and their white friends rewarded the Sewing Society's devoted labors with $200 ". . . . which they handed over to the pastors, The Rev. A. T. Hall and J. M. Warren, to be expended in completing the house."[17]

The Journal duly complimented the "colored population who were well informed and peaceable citizens," and who "seldom see any of their brethren grace the public calendar or the names registered at Alton,"[18] and commented on the edifice just before it was completed:

> Among the numerous buildings and edifices in process of completion in this city, there are few that will add more to the character and beauty of Chicago, than the edifice now nearly completed, the African Methodist church. This building is situated on Jackson street, east of Clark, and is sixty feet in length and thirty-eight in width. The congregation of this church consists of about sixty members.[19]

The same year that the Quinn Chapel A. M. E. Church laid its corner-stone (1853), the Reverend Robert J. Robinson, sometime moderator of the Wood River Baptist Association, pastor of the Union Baptist Church, Alton, Illinois, and in 1853, the General Agent of the Wood River Association, said, in his report for that year:

I have organized one church in the city of Chicago. This organization was none other than the Zoar Baptist Church which was formed of 11 members in April, 1853, probably on the 6th as tradition has it. During that year, the church contributed $7.50 to the Wood River Association."[20]

During these years, there seem to have been rather continuous relationships between Chicago and the Illinois hinterland and there was considerable visiting by ministers. Zoar had no pastor for about two years, but the pulpit "was occasionally supplied by brethren of the Wood River Association who endeavored to keep the organization alive."[21]

These itinerant preachers, by 1853, had baptized two converts, accepted six others and then: "Brother William Johnson made application for membership in the Wood River Association. After satisfactory evidence was given of the soundness of her (Zoar's) faith, she was unanimously received; and while one of Zion's songs was being sung, the right hand of followship was given to her delegate."[22]

In 1856, Zoar's fifty-six members were ready to "call a minister" and the Reverend H. H. Hawkins, pastor of the colored Baptist church in Chatham, Canada, West, came to Illinois. The notice concerning the call is significant, for among the officers appears the name of an energetic young tailor who later became early Chicago's leading Negro citizen--John Jones.*[23]

Something of the religious habits of the times may be gleaned from a description of Zoar's church program:

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*Jones appears throughout the early records as the outstanding lay leader in the community, although at a meeting in 1869, called to protect and extend the Negro's civil liberties, an opposition group fought him as being the leader of a "bed-room ring" which dictated policy to the Negro community.

> The Zoar congregation was developing into a well rounded church. Preaching services were carried on on Sundays in the morning, and at three and seven-thirty P. M. The Sunday School was at the close of the morning worship; prayer meeting was on Wednesday evening.[24]

This little Baptist church by 1857 was attempting to pay for a building at the corner of Harrison and Griswold Streets. The Christian Times for September 2nd, 1857, appealed to the white community to aid it, stating:

> Rev. H. Hawkins, pastor of the Zoar (colored) Baptist church in this city is now in the country soliciting aid for his brethren in paying for their church lot (located on the corner of Harrison and Griswold Streets.) We feel so much interest in his success that we volunteer the statement of a few facts which may commend his object beforehand to such churches as he may hereafter visit.
>
> The colored Baptist church in this city, is made up of very excellent and reliable material. Its leading male members are respected and successful business men* and fully capable of directing wisely the financial affairs of the church. A good state of religious feeling exists among them and their pastor is an efficient and useful man.
>
> Some two years since, with the assistance of other churches, a small house of worship was built upon a leased lot (corner of Buffalo and Taylor Streets). It becoming necessary for the church to have a lot of its own, one was purchased with a desirable location for the sum of $3,000, to be paid in four annual installments. To meet the first payment, $1,250 was borrowed, and a mortgage given in security upon the property of one of the brethren.
>
> In January this must be paid, together with the second payment, and the interest upon both, making about $2,800. The church is small, and though, as intimated above, some of its male members are tolerably prosperous in their business, they are not able to assume the whole burden of these payments. Their appeal to the churches is justified by these facts, and by the additional one that while a new location was demanded, a suitable lot could not be obtained as property is held in this city, at a less sum than they have undertaken to pay. We trust that Brother Hawkins will be successful in his effort to interest the churches of this State in the object of his visit among them.[25]

As mentioned previously, the continuous stream of Southern migrants brought with them their pattern of behavior and:

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*There were three Negroes in business in 1837. The total number of Negro-owned businesses kept increasing, reaching eighty-four in 1860, just before the Civil War.

> Some few of the recent immigrants from the South were neither good citizens nor useful church members. The Zoar church had a few of this class. They had brought with them their own ideas of church worship and government which retarded the progress of the Zoar congregation.[26]

The intelligent Canadian-freedman pastor of Zoar expelled twenty-one of his seventy-eight members. There was a new pastor next year, and the twenty-one members were restored to full fellowship.

The character of the internal controversies of this era reflects the social structure of the society and the confusing contradictions within it. The Wood River Association, for instance, discussed the following query in 1858: "If a slave man is married to a slave woman, and should they be separated by the master, or by making their escape into a free state, and marry another, is he or she guilty of bigamy."[27] And a resolution was passed, stating: "Resolved, that we believe the marriage of slaves to be morally binding, yet we do not believe it to be legal. We would, however, caution the churches to look well into the matter before they act."[28]

Not only did slave marriages constitute a problem, but, such matters of ritual as "foot-washing"* served to divide the Wood River Association and Zoar Church, for Zoar's pastor voted "nay" while a lay delegate voted "yes" on a resolution to continue foot-washing. This issue split the church and a letter to the Association after the pastor's resignation, states: "Many roots of bitterness have sprung up among the brethern, which has marred their peace and hindered the work of God, and scattered the members."[29]

This case of conflict was not unusual. Turnover in ministers was high in these years, as has perhaps been gleaned from the excerpts quoted

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*Foot-washing has at various times been a part of the ritual of denominations or Schismatic groups who claimed to be following the pattern of Jesus who washed the disciples' feet as an act of humility. See Census of Religious Bodies, 1926.

Church splits over doctrine were frequent, ministers often left for other charges, and an occasional scandal rocked a congregation.* Again, only three years after Reverend James E. Wilson had laid the cornerstone of Quinn Chapel, another minister was being feted for his services in helping to have the church built:

> A portion of the African Methodist congregation on Monday night, presented their pastor, Rev. Elisha M. Weaver, with a testimonial of their regard, in the shape of an elegant gold watch chain. It was intended to evince to him an acknowledgement for his service in the erection of their church edifice, and their appreciation of him as a pastor and a man. The ceremony took place at the church on the corner of Buffalo and Jackson streets, publicly and in the presence of a large assemblage of white and colored people.[30]

During the year that the Civil War began, about thirty-five or forty Baptists left Zoar and organized a new church, Mt. Zion, leasing a store on Clark Street near Harrison. There were less than one thousand Negroes in Chicago at the time; there were four churches--two Methodist and two Baptist--all at least partially dependent upon the good will of the white community for financial support. The next year, 1861, the two Baptist churches were consolidated when Zoar's pastor returned to Canada, and Mt. Zion's pastor persuaded both congregations to unite under the name of Olivet Baptist Church. Until 1865, Olivet's group of less than three hundred persons worshipped at the corner of Harrison and Griswold Streets, and

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*For several weeks in 1859, the newspaper readers in Chicago were given a full-orbed gossip story about a Negro doctor's wife who was caught "tete-a-tete with the Reverend upon a sofa in the parlor," and whose husband "rushed for his pistol," causing the unseemly flight of "the Reverend Scoundrel." The Journal closed its final story of the trial with an account of the $100 fine imposed on the minister and stated, "The affair has created the most intense excitement among the colored population, who unanimously take sides against him." Chicago Daily Journal, March 11, 1859, Vol. XVII, No. 59.

"enjoyed peace and prayer meetings Wednesday and Friday, a flourishing Sunday School, and was embarrassed only in money matters which compelled them to ask sister churches for aid."[31]

The American Baptist Publication Society,* a white body, had contributed some books to the Olivet church and, in 1862, the institution boasted a library of 128 volumes. Quinn Chapel A. M. E. Church had her school and Olivet Baptist Church, her library; both combinations being a testimony to the prevailing belief of the day among white liberals and Negro leaders, that religion and education would prepare the Negro for a place in the total American society as a full citizen.

Secular Associations--Pre-Civil War Era

As has been indicated above, educational and cultural interests were closely associated with the church, but, there were also other organizations devoted to these interests in the community. The Journal, as early as 1850, reported: "They have also established a Lyceum for personal improvement, which bids fair to be greatly prosperous. In this respect they are in advance of their paler complexioned neighbors, who have nothing of the sort, except in name.[32]

Three years later, the same paper appealed to the white public in the interests of the A. M. E. church, as follows:

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*The American Baptist Publication Society, in 1886, became a center of controversy, resulting in the formation of the National Baptist Convention (colored). "After having all but agreed to accept literary contributions of Negroes to its Sunday School literature, the American Baptist Publication Society, upon protest from southern churchmen, receded from that position. The issue was then joined . . . . and as the struggle grew more intense every effort was made so to extend it as to destroy the influence of white national bodies among Negroes. Carter Woodson, op. cit., p. 260.

> Being united they hold weekly meetings, and schools for reading, debating and singing, and for general culture of the rising generation. And with a little aid and assistance from other denominations they would be placed upon a sure foundation. We hope the citizens will help those who have been struggling for so long a time to accomplish so good an object, and one that will benefit their race so much and add to the honor of our Garden City.[33]

In 1859, the Journal reported the organization of a Lodge, and stated its aims in terms of "uplift" for the people of color, stating as follows:

> On Friday night last, a lodge was established in this city among our colored citizens in the Order of the Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria. The Order, we learn, has seventy-eight lodges in the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Virginia, District of Columbia, and Illinois. It aims at the moral elevation and advancement of the people of color. The present head of the order is Edward M. Thompson, of Washington, D. C.[34]

Both the secular and sacred institutions served to relate the Chicago Negro community to the wider national Negro community, and thus, extended the area of social controls beyond the local community. Lodges and churches, with a membership including Negroes in the East and South, and particularly in the border states, helped to give form to a separate social structure in Chicago, for not only did white people encourage Negroes to organize their own institutions, but Negroes from other areas were equally as active in founding and sustaining such churches and associations.

The Anti-Slavery Fight

Much of the associational life of the articulate section of the Negro population during the pre-Civil War period was intimately bound up with the slavery question. There were frequent protest meetings and demonstrations. The churches were used as meeting places and there were special groups organized to cope with the problem of the fugitive slave. One account states that:

> Since the 40's, Chicago had been called a "niggerloving" town by southerners. No other city, unless it be Philadelphia, was so kind to the colored man. In it terminated many lines of the 'Underground Railroad,' that semi-secret chain of Abolitionists who spirited runaway slaves from Ohio up through the midlands from house to house, until they reached Chicago.[35]

There were continual brawls between "jay-hawkers" intent on carrying slaves back to the South and the Negroes and sympathetic whites,* and these were increased by the compromise of 1850 in which the Federal Government promised to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law.

> Chicago was openly defiant. Not only did the white population express its antagonisms, but the Negro community gave proof of its strong resentment against the law. Two of the terminals of the Railroad during the forties and fifties were organized and managed by Negroes. One of these was a Negro church; the other a private home. The newly founded African Methodist Church soon broadened its scope to include organized activity on behalf of fugitive slaves. Apparently the most articulate segment of the Negro population attended this church.[36]

Four women members of Quinn Chapel, known as the "Big Four," were among the most active "conductors" on the railroad. The other terminal was located in the home of John Jones, a founder of the Olivet Baptist Church. Apparently, however, Olivet Baptist Church was much less active than Quinn in these "extra-worship" activities.

In October of 1850, the Reverend George W. Johnson, pastor of Quinn Chapel, called to order a "large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens" at his church who immediately organized a "Liberty Association."[37] Resolutions were passed and the sum of twenty dollars was dis-

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*It has been suggested that the great immigrant influx during the fifties and early sixties added to the anti-slavery sentiment in Chicago since immigrants brought with them opinions and ideas hostile to slavery and to the South and they settled in the evenly balanced middle counties of Illinois, where a few votes and a little anti-slavery propaganda counted for much. By 1850, 50 per cent of Chicago's population was foreign born. (See Reddick, op. cit.)

patched to General W. L. Chapin, held in prison in Maryland for "abducting slaves." Over three hundred people were reported as being present at this mass-meeting. They later formed seven "police divisions" whose members were required "to patrol the city each night and 'keep an eye on' for interlopers,[38] that is, persons intent on catching escaped slaves. The resolutions passed appealed to "The Supreme Judge of the Social World to support us in the justice of our cause," and stated: ". . . . it behooves all good and true colored freemen to be as one man upon this subject and that your main characteristic be union, both of feeling and principle, with a view to be a union that will last forever."[39]

Chicago's opinion was not unanimous, however, and some of the Chicago police men took the side of the slaveholders. The Methodist church (white) almost split on the issue of slavery, and there were sizeable groups of persons who sponsored pro-slavery meetings.

It is significant to note that Negroes living in Chicago were far more militant than Negroes in the rural regions of Illinois who "dwelt in true humility in obscure corners of the towns and cities with their own churches and sometimes separate schools maintained with the assistance of white patrons."[40] This is to be explained not alone by difference of attitude on the part of the white populations, but partly by the superior chances which the city gave for organizing resistance.*

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*The two churches and one or two societies did not include every member of the community and there was a disorganized element of the population. The Journal painted a lurid picture, in February 1860, of "A Negro Dive in Full Blast."

On various occasions prominent speakers, including even the great Frederick Douglass, came to stir the Negro community, until in 1860, the storm broke when southern raiders, accompanied by United States Marshals, swarmed into the city. The Journal advised the Negroes: ". . . . strike for the North for you are not safe until you stand on English soil where you will be free men and women."[41] Many Negroes began to leave and the Journal dramatically stated:

> The utmost consternation prevails among all classes of the colored residents of the city. . . . . All day, yesterday, the vicinity of the Michigan southern depot was a scene of excitement and confusion. After the religious services at the Zoar Baptist Church in the morning which was densely attended, the leave taking commenced. . . . . The colored clergymen of the city were also among the number, and labored ardently in extending encouragement and consolation to those about to depart. . . . . Here and there, one was in tears and wringing hands, but the majority were in the best of humor and were congratulated by their friends lingering behind that tomorrow they would be free. 'Never mind,' said one, 'the good Lord will save us all in the coming day' . . . . (they were) bidding their friends to write when they got 'to the other side of Jordan' and not forget them in the new country. The minister of the neighboring church where they attended, also went from car to car bidding them to be men when they got to Canada.

Then came the Civil War, and as a result of it, Emancipation.

Summary

During the "Slavery Epoch," church and associational life was taking form among Negroes in Chicago. During these hectic years the church leaders, to some extent at least, tended to relate their church program to broader social movements involving Negroes by actively supporting the anti-slavery movement, by caring for fugitives and aiding them in their escape to Canada, and by providing educational and recreational facilities.

The available data reveals an interest in doctrinal questions and proper ritualistic procedures among the Baptists, and the first tendencies

toward schisms. It also suggests that the Baptists may have been less active in "social" movements than the African Methodists.

The type of Negro-white relationships is indeed interesting. White congregations and individuals seemed to have been active in rendering financial assistance, in giving moral support, and in encouraging Negroes to develop a secular leadership of businessmen in addition to the clergy. There was much emphasis on the middle class virtues of thrift, sobriety, and decorum.

Finally, the Chicago Negro community was not developing in isolation from the larger national community, and there was considerable intersectional participation.

- The Post Civil-War Epoch -

The Post Civil War and Reconstruction Epoch, 1866 to 1899, gave new life to Negro enterprises. The Negro entered into as many activities as were open to him. He was particularly active in politics and educational work but pre-eminently he was engaged in the development of his church.

The Negro churches of the time originated especially from the initiative of individuals, groups, splits, or schisms, and as missions of other churches.

/Mays and Nicholson, op. cit., p. 29./

The Post-Civil War Epoch

The Sixties

With the freeing of the slaves in the South, tremendous impetus was given to "welfare work" among Negroes. The Federal Government established the Freedmen's Bureau for rendering direct relief, providing "work-relief," resettling Negroes on the land, and helping them to protect themselves against the aggressions of their former masters, the K. K. K., and exploitive merchants and politicians. At the same time various private agencies, particularly church boards, such as the American Missionary Association (Congregational), the American Baptist Home Mission Society, The Freedmen's Aid Society, National Freedmen's Relief Association, The Philadelphia Society, The Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, were active in sending down school teachers as "missionary barrels" and in teaching self-reliance as well as bestowing alms. It was from these beginnings that the private school system in the South grew, and that the groundwork was laid for the "progress" which Negroes have made, and to which Woofter refers in his Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life (1933):

> At the time of the emancipation there were about 700,000 Negro church members, most of whom belonged to white denominations. At present there are about 40,000 Negro churches and nearly 5,000,000 church members. Less than one per cent of these are members of white churches. In 1854, one Negro physician was a member of a medical association. Today 5,000 Negro physicians are gradually taking over the practice of medicine among their own people. They have a national medical associ-

ation, with eighty state and local medical societies, and they publish the "Journal of the National Medical Association." Similar statements might be made for the other professions. The total number of Negroes in the professions is now close to 100,000. There are 70,000 Negro business enterprises of various kinds, most of them catering to Negro trade. In 1927, there were 28 Negro insurance companies, with assets of $11,000,000; insurance in force, $243,000,000. In 1926, 33 Negro banks in 14 states had assets of over $15,000,000 and deposits of $12,000,000. There are now about 400 Negro newspapers, 30 magazines, 80 school journals, and various specialized publications.[1]

In the confused southern situation, however, not all the Negroes decided to remain in the South, and a movement toward the North and West began.[2] An interesting sidelight on the problems raised for the churches by emancipation is furnished by this note from the 1865 minutes of the Illinois Baptist State Convention:

> The breaking up of slavery has already tended to increase the number of persons connected with these churches, [in the South] and the probable hardships of the freedmen in view of the restoration to power of those who have been their masters, and those love for this oppressed race has not increased by the results of the war, will naturally cause others to seek a home with us.* It cannot be expected that these persons will be able to furnish themselves with houses of worship, and such helps in their work as they will need. We therefore earnestly commend them to the kind regard and cooperation of all our churches.
>
> Not only should we sympathize with these churches and encourage them, but we ought to extend fraternal courtesy and kindness to individuals scattered among us when their numbers are not sufficient to justify the formation of colored churches. Let them know that all our churches offer them a home and a cordial welcome. Let them not be tempted to organize churches on the basis of color rather than of Christian Faith. Let not Baptists be driven to walk disorderly by joining organizations whose doctrines and practice are unscriptural. Let them know that all Baptists, loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and wishing to obey Him, are regarded by us as brethern, and are welcome to all the privileges of membership with us.[3]

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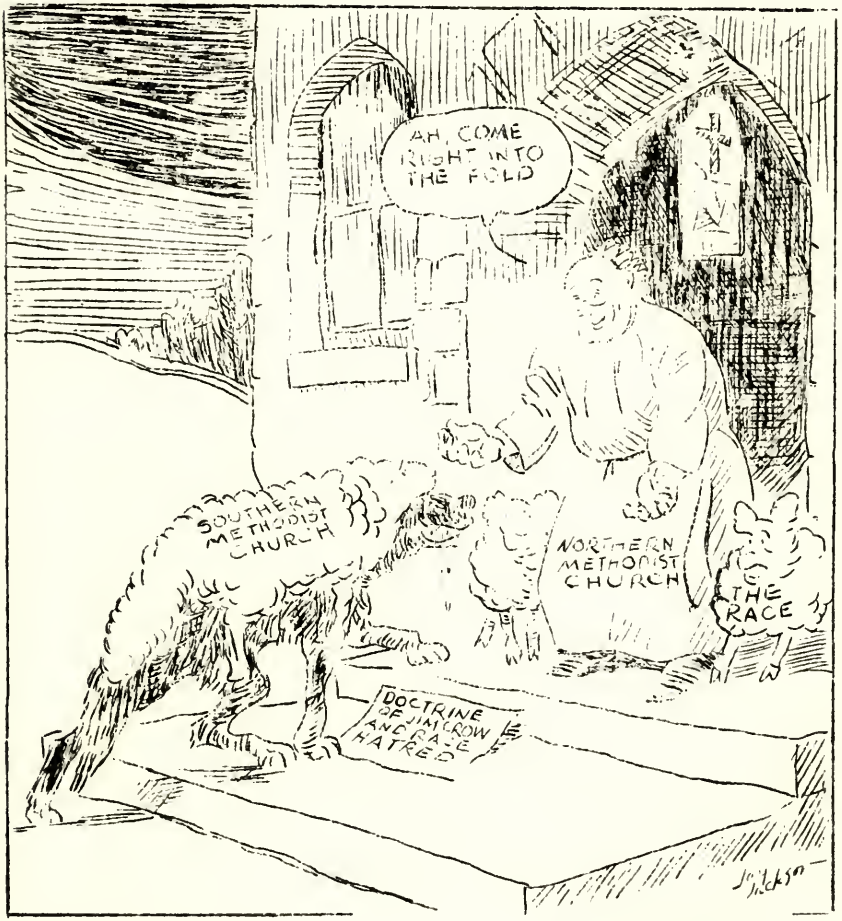
*At the next year's convention, it was reported that 10,000 freedmen from the South "had sought a refuge in this state during the war," and that "several churches have been formed among them, and we have three missionaries laboring for them the past year. One or two more are greatly needed. There were 27 Negro Baptist churches in Illinois with a total of about 1,500 members." One of these was in Chicago--Olivet, with 359 members.

'Too Bad For The Sheep'



Chicago Defender, 1937

Many Negroes express suspicion of attempts to reunite a denomination which split over the slavery issue. The merger was effected by a compromise between Southerners who were unwilling to accept Negro bishops and those Negroes who objected to separate Negro and white jurisdictions.

It is evident from even this short recommendation that the pattern of segregation was still not set, and that there were contradictory views as to the propriety of having segregated congregations. Yet, at the same time, the statement implies that it is "natural" for Negroes to form separate churches when they have sufficient numbers.

There is a record of one church forming in Chicago from Negroes who were worshipping with a white congregation. Inspired by the progress of Olivet, in 1866, twenty-two members of the Union Baptist Church (white) asked for their letters of dismission in order to organize a separate church. For a year they worshipped in the afternoon at the white church with the white pastor as their preacher. Then they called a Negro pastor. The church was first named Calvary, and later, Providence.[4]

Upon the committee which framed the above recommendation was at least one Negro minister, the Reverend Mr. Richard De Baptiste, who later became one of the most outstanding Negro ministers in the United States. It was this minister who articulated the Chicago Baptists with Baptists in other sections of the country. Woodson says of him that he

> . . . . migrated with his free parents of color from Fredericksburg, Virginia, to the Northwest after the restrictions placed upon the Negroes of this class in Virginia became intolerable. His first important work was that of teaching a public school for colored youth in the Springfield township at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. . . . . He later organized and pastored a Baptist church in Chicago, a charge which he held until 1882. Serving in this capacity, he purchased two building sites at a cost of $14,000 and built two brick church edifices costing respectively, $15,000 and $18,000.
>
> His work as a minister, however, was in no sense local. He was elected corresponding secretary of the Wood River Association in 1864, was a prominent figure and officer in the Northwestern and Southern Baptist Conventions organized in 1865, and was chosen president of the American Baptist Missionary Convention in Nashville, Tennessee, serving it consecutively for four years. He was thereafter elected president at intervals and remained a commanding figure in the convention because of his power and influence in the church. Manifesting further interest

> in the work of the denomination, he contributed to the church literature through the Chicago Conservator, the Western Herald, and the National Monitor. In fact, in his day he was not only the outstanding minister of his denomination in the West, but one of the most influential men of his race.[5]

Rev. De Baptiste led the fight for civil rights in Illinois, for the Emancipation Proclamation had not changed Illinois' anti-Negro laws. In 1869, a group of leaders met at Olivet Baptist Church to form a "Colored Convention" in order to "present our grievances" and "devise ways and means whereby a healthy opinion may be created." Rev. Richard De Baptiste, was elected president. The objects were stated as being to secure

> . . . . every recognition by the laws of our state . . . . [to] disavow any and all imputations of a desire to obtain social equality . . . . [to] demand equal school privileges throughout the state, ... to accomplish the objects mentioned, we appoint two of our ablest citizens, capable of creditably presenting our interests to attend the coming State Constitutional Convention . . . . beseech that honorable body to favorably consider our necessities and submit to the people of the State such amendments to the State Constitution as will remove the disabilities under which we now labor.[6]

Rev. De Baptiste, in the year preceding the formation of the Illinois Colored Convention, had presided at the annual meeting of the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention, meeting in Savannah, Georgia. The following extracts from the annual report of this convention afford us a glimpse of the type of national activities in which local northern churches were interested, and over which Olivet's pastor presided in the sixties.

> Though our work the past year has been comparatively meagre, yet we have great reason to be thankful to God for His goodness, in that He has permitted us to do what we have in the glorious work to which He has called us. There has been a general stagnation in every department of business life, compelling almost everybody, more or less, to abandon labor for general good, and give attention to family, personal, and local interests. Churches have found themselves unable to send forth their usual gifts, and benevolent merchants have been forced to say, "You must excuse me from giving, this year."

This commercial and consequent financial dearth is traceable to political disruptions, and the generally unsettled state of the country. In this respect the evil effects of our late Civil War have been felt by us all in educational and missionary, as well as commercial and political enterprises. But when we look over the South and see four millions (4,000,000), of our once enslaved and sorely abused brethren now standing up and rejoicing under the unfurled and waving banner of freedom; building their own churches and dedicating them to God, and ordaining their own preachers, and choosing their own legislators and their own governors, as one of the results, and, the very best of all the good effects, of the Civil War, then we, too, are constrained to join with them in the anthem of joy and praise, and say, "Glory to God in the highest."

As the circulation of money is always governed by the degree of activity in business, and as business has been dull, your Executive Board has not been able to raise one-tenth as much money for missionary purposes as would have been raised by the same effort if it had been made under more favorable circumstances, or without the hindrances mentioned and yet to be mentioned. Our whole receipts for the year, including the amount collected at the last annual meeting of the Convention, have amounted to not more than twelve hundred dollars ($1200).

Our expenditures have amounted, during the same time to $1,500.

Adding to this our old missionary debt, gives the sum of $2,800 as our liabilities or indebtedness the past year.

Now, in view of our own numerical greatness, and the large gifts of our white friends for the support of missionary and education enterprises among us as a people, and for our Southern brethren in particular, the amount of our receipts appears shamefully insignificant.

Foreseeing or apprehending that we would not be able to raise the amount of money absolutely necessary to pay all the brethren employed as missionaries and agents in the several states and districts, and believing it unwise and detrimental to the progress of the Convention to increase its debt, your Board was obliged to make the appointments conditional. The main condition was that those accepting appointments should find for themselves local support till otherwise provided for, excepting such appropriations, from time to time, as the Board of Convention might find itself able to make without any serious embarrassment. To this there has been no objections; and how faithfully and successfully these good missionary brethren have continued and labored in their respective fields under such discouraging circumstances, their own statements and figures yet to be submitted, will tell in detail.

They have preached over a thousand sermons, baptized thousands of hopeful converts, and organized about sixty new churches.

Brother Campbell, of Texas, has reported four hundred forty that he himself has baptized. Brother S. White, of Virginia, has baptized over five hundred.

Work To Be Done

Having reviewed what has been done, we now call your attention to the work that lies before us, as a colored National Baptist Convention, and to the methods recommended for its successful prosecution. The field that we are called upon to occupy, embraces every one of the late

slave states and includes hundreds of thousands of souls yet to be converted. The Baptist influence and interest in these states are already great, and a decent respect for the faith we hold, and the principles we advocate as Christians, and the messengers of God, sent by His Son, Jesus Christ, and upheld by the Holy Spirit, enjoin it upon us to go forward with renewed zeal, and preach to all and baptize as many as shall be converted to God through our instrumentality. They are of our own family and social household. They have full confidence in us, and therefore, constantly calls us to come unto them with the bread of life, and teach them how, and in whom to believe, and how to live as well as how to die.

How To Do It

The methods recommended for our success are, first, the cultivation of a more zealous missionary spirit by the pastors and churches of the Convention. The churches must be trained to give for the support of missions--domestic and foreign--else we shall be inefficient for the great work before us.

The delegates to the Convention usually become deeply interested in missions during its session, but forget to take up collections, and bid Godspeed to the Board during the year. How can your Board do, unless you furnish it means to do with? To appoint an Executive Missionary Board, and then close your doors and hearts and pockets against it, is to act inconsistently, and, to an enlightened mind, supremely ridiculous. No church represented in the Convention should be contented to live through the year without sending up an offering for the support of missions. Let us see, this year, that missionary collections shall be no more neglected than those taken to sweeten our coffee and tea.

Next, we most respectfully recommend the adoption of such measures as shall secure the best use of the means given by our white Baptist friends of the North and elsewhere, for religious and educational purposes among us as a people. Their gifts are large, and cheerfully and hopefully given; but from the remoteness, peculiarities, and exclusiveness of the channel or agency, these gifts do not produce the desired good. Thus we are exposed to the shame of having it said that our white friends have spent much on us to improve us, but entirely failed. Therefore, we urge you to adopt measures by which the agents of monies, collected from our white friends for the promotion of the colored Baptist missionary interest in the United States, shall be compelled to respect the wishes and best good of our people in their appropriations.

Quarterly Collections

Your Board would further recommend the taking up of quarterly collections by all the pastors and missionaries of the Convention, as the first and most successful step toward the necessary, desirable, and praiseworthy end of self-reliance. The fact that we must become more self-reliant is too plain, and the neglect of it too threatening, for us to stand idle or passive. Our white brethren, with the exceptions already mentioned, are bound together, as such, for the defense and perpetuity of their own distinctive interests. They are true to themselves. They not only retain all they have, but draw much more from us than they appropriate directly to us. Thus, in a pecuniary point of view, their burden is greater than their relief, although they profess

to help us. It is necessary, therefore, for us to seek and find resources among ourselves; to apply the rewards of our own labor to the development of our own religious and social interests by the use of our own native instrumentalities.

First. We must give more attention to the cause of Ministerial Education. For this purpose there ought to be a fund created and fostered by the Convention or its Executive Board. We recommend, therefore, that a collection be taken up annually, on the third Lord's Day, in October, in every one of our churches. God is now making large and promising accessions to our ministry, and calls upon us, as old veterans, to drill them and fit them for good captains and generals in the army of the Lord. In order to obey God and do this, we must have money, which these collections will supply.

Second. We recommend that the second general and annual collection be the Support of Missions, and that it be taken up annually, on the Lord's Day of January, after preaching by the pastor or agent on the subject of Missions.

Third. We also recommend that there be created a Church Building Fund to be sustained and increased by annual collections, to be taken up on the third Lord's Day of April. We ought to be more interested, as a denomination, in the accumulation of church property. Our brethren in small country towns are generally compelled to go through the land, begging from house to house for means to put up a small church building in which to worship God, when, if they had houses of worship, they could soon call together people enough to build for themselves, and be more independent. Going from place to place, they are often humbled and insulted, and the denomination exposed to the contempt or ridicule of others who have better systems for building their churches. Brethren, we beseech you in the name of God, for whom you profess so much love to suffer this no longer, without earnest, faithful effort to stop it. If all the churches of the Convention give annually and liberally, for this Church Building Fund, we can stop this disgrace to which we are now so much exposed.

Fourth. We further recommend the fourth or last annual collection be taken up as long as necessary for General Purposes to be used at the discretion of the Board. The other collections, being designated and sacred to the ends for which they are designated, cannot be used for anything else. At the expense of about $4,000, your Board could purchase lots of ground, and erect suitable buildings and offices in which to conduct the business of the Convention. This is very desirable and economical, and the funds for general purposes could be applied to this and for incidental expenses, including salaries of officers.

Report of Committee on Missionaries and Fields

Whereas, there are many oppositions to the proclaiming of the gospel of Jesus Christ, many claiming that it should be moulded and turned to suit the tastes and fancies of man, keeping the people in ignorance and darkness, and covering the welfare of the people with a cloud of issues not pertinent to the salvation of the soul, therefore,

Resolved, that we hereby commend to and request of our pastors and missionaries, to preach unflinchingly, in its purity, the everlasting gospel, without conferring with flesh and blood, for "Woe unto him who preaches not the gospel."

Resolved, 2d. That the destitute places in the following states be occupied as missionary field; viz.; Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, California, Delaware, New England States, and the District of Columbia, also the present missionaries in the field, not necessary to be changed be continued in their respective fields.

Resolved, 3d. That we request of our churches to let their pastors occasionally go in the surrounding country and perform missionary labor, and the churches aid their pastors in such labor, but bearing their expenses, and the pastors be empowered to take up collections on the fields to defray their expenses back home. Furthermore, the said pastors must not only have the permit of their churches, but the sanction of the Board of the Convention.

Resolved, 4th. That we hereby urge upon our pastors and churches not to neglect the collections for our missionaries, and further that all of our pastors be required to preach, occasionally, missionary sermons.

Resolved, 5th. That agents be appointed in each state, whose duties shall be to collect funds for the Convention, and superintend the fields in their respective states, under the direction of the Executive Board.

Resolved, 6th. That Elder N. G. Merry be appointed missionary and agent for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York; 2d, Elder G. W. Dupee, for Massachusetts; 3d, Elder Thomas Jefferson, for Missouri, 4th, Elders Abraham Merry and John Smith, for Mississippi; 5th, Elders John Randall and William Shorter, for Louisiana.

The next meeting of the Convention will be held on Thursday before the third Lord's Day in September, A. D. 1869, at 11 o'clock a.m., with the Washington Street Baptist Church, Paducah, Kentucky; the following are to be the preachers.

Introductory Sermon--Rev. John Cox, of Savannah, Georgia; alternate, Rev. N. B. Frierson, of Farmville, Virginia. Missionary Sermon, Rev. Jesse F. Boulden, of Natchez, Mississippi; alternate, Rev. W. J. White. Widow's Fund Sermon, Rev. Sampson White, of Virginia; alternate, Rev. A. Henderson. Doctrinal Sermon, Rev. Richard DeBaptiste, of Illinois. [italics, ed.]"

The officers of the convention were as follows: Rev. Richard DeBaptiste, Chicago, Illinois, President; Rev. Nelson G. Merry, Nashville, Tennessee, Vice President; Rev. Rufus L. Perry, Brooklyn, New York, Corresponding Secretary; Rev. Simon R. Walker, Nashville, Tennessee, Recording Secretary; and Rev. Isaac Bagswell, Brooklyn, New York, Treasurer.

Summary

The account of the Convention quoted above reveals explicitly several important aspects of church life which were implicit in the local Chicago situation during the Sixties. It indicates the extent of inter-sectional participation (note areas from whence officers came); the sensitivity of church leaders to adverse economic and political conditions; and the extreme dependence of Negroes on white people for financial assistance.

It also illustrates a trend toward separatism in organizational life, accompanied by a growth in "race pride" and "independence." These sentiments were expressed in approval of freedom, political participation, and in a slight suggestion of antagonism toward white Baptists, both northern and southern. There was also an expressed desire for the accumulation of church property; for the development of businesslike habits of church financing; and for an educated ministry.

The Seventies

The boom which came to Chicago as an outgrowth of the Civil War attracted large numbers of people. The impetus of increased commercial activity on trade routes to the Atlantic seaboard, the expansion of industrial activity to supply war demands in clothing, food and munitions, as well as accelerated activity in banking and finance served as magnets, attracting workmen from all parts of the country and from Europe. The total population grew from 109,000 to 299,000 in the ten year period, 1860-1870. The trek to Chicago, "The City of Hope," increased the number of Negroes from less than one thousand in 1860 to more than three and a half thousand by 1870.[8]

At the beginning of the seventies, most of Chicago's 3,500 Negroes

lived in the area between Monroe and Sixteenth streets, Lake Michigan and the Chicago River, a not too desirable neighborhood, near the central business district. When the city was rebuilt after the devastating fires of 1871 and 1874,* the Negro community spread southward to Twenty-second street, and westward across the Chicago River, while a few Negro families moved out into other areas of the city, one small group settling around 51st and Dearborn.[10]

Negroes were concentrated in the economic system principally as personal and domestic servants during the seventies and eighties, although by the mid-eighties there were two colored school teachers, several colored policemen and legislators, and a colored fire department.[11] There were also a few businesses, but in the main, Negroes were waiters, coachmen, janitors and domestic servants. One observer, writing in the middle eighties, stated that:

> . . . .hotels and restaurants in Chicago employed regularly from 1,800 to 2,000 Negro men with wages ranging from $25 to $30 per week. There were 50 to 75 persons in the municipal, State and government departments receiving salaries ranging from $75 to $125 per month. . . . . There were 175 Negroes engaged in various branches of prominent business and professions.[12]

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*Lewis and Smith report somewhat humorously anent the fire:

"Clergymen made it the subject of sermons for months, some saying that the heart of humanity was bleeding, some that the fire had been God's way of punishing the sins of the world, many declaring that God had destroyed the wicked city, even as he had laid the righteous torch at the gates of Sodom and Gomorrah. The Rev. Granville Moody, Cincinnati Methodist, attributed the calamity to the fact that Chicago had recently given a majority vote against the closure of the saloons on the Sabbath." Even newspapers saw the [illegible] fire, too, and according to the same authors, the Rushville (Ind.) Democrat said; 'God had stricken the Northern city to avenge the wanton destruction which the Union armies had visited on the South during the Civil War.'[9]

(The wage levels referred to in this statement seem extremely high, however, for the period.)

This decade also saw the expansion of the great packing houses and farm equipment works, and the beginnings of the titanic labor struggles which later rocked the city. Business control was, on the whole, vested in the migrants from the East, while the heavy labor was done by the foreign-born. It was during this period, too, that the first influx of well-educated German socialists* came to Chicago.

> That they should take issue sooner or later with the Yankee rulers of Chicago's industrial life was inevitable. They differed with Puritans on religion, for while both were protestant by blood, the German radical faction had long ago dismissed orthodoxy, and the fundamentalists' idea of Jehovah.[13]
>
> They were more interested in bettering the lot of man on this earth than in considering the problems of the hereafter.[14]

The individualistic "Puritans," however, were also active in "bettering the lot of man"--but not by economic or social changes. Their emphasis during this era was on the anti-liquor crusade, and attempts were made to close up all Sunday amusements, particularly the saloons.

> Wealth, the Protestant churches and the Yankee aristocracy, backed the Sunday closing, a situation which prompted spokesmen of the masses to declare, "We are not against the arrest of Sunday drunks, but we are against the dictation of men who go to church on Sundays with long faces and then go to the Board of Trade on Monday to swindle their colleagues out of many bushels of grain.[15]

By 1873, the liquor issue had become a political one and the "wets"

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*Many of the German immigrants were followers of Karl Marx, the German scholar and labor leader, who taught socialism, i.e., the public ownership of factories and natural resources under the control of the working classes ("the proletariat") as a means of abolishing poverty. Marxian socialism was critical of the European Christian churches on the grounds that they fought against the workers' interests, and allied themselves with the aristocracy and business interests ("the bourgeoisie") rather than with the peasants and city workers. It conceived of primitive Christianity, however, as the revolutionary force of its historic period.

won the election of that year, whereupon the appeal to evangelism was made, culminating in the march of "the praying women" on the City Hall in 1874, and the later organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[16] But anti-liquor agitation was soon drowned in the noise of labor disputes.

There is little data available, at present, as to the part which Negro churches and associations took in these broader social reform movements, but the Negro community continued to battle for its own rights, appealing to the American democratic tradition. The "Vigilance Committee," formed in the previous decade, extended its interests beyond Chicago; for in 1872, a white paper reported that "Mr. John Jones and 112 other colored citizens have issued an ill-judged address to the Negroes of the country."[17] The address in question advised Negroes not to support Greely, Sumner and Trumbull because these gentlemen were "worshipping at another Shrine" by favoring pensions for Confederate soldiers.

Although the Negroes did not vote as a racial bloc in the seventies, they acted with a great degree of solidarity in the exercise of their newly-won right to vote. With emancipation in the not-too-distant past, it was natural that their allegiance was pledged to the Republican Party,* but in 1874, they and their white friends united to elect John Jones to the office of County Commissioner on the "Fire-proof" ticket.[18] Participation in politics gathered momentum during the decade, and certain appointive and elective jobs began to come to Negroes.

Engine Company No. 21, the only Negro unit in the Chicago Fire Department, and at the time the only Colored Company in the Northwest,[19] was

*In 1876, the Negro Republicans held a large mass meeting at Olivet Baptist Church to discuss changes in the Illinois Constitution.

established in 1872; a Negro police officer was appointed in the same year,[20] and in 1876, a Negro was elected to the general assembly. After a lapse of two terms he was re-elected, and there have always been colored representatives since. This man, J. J. E. Thomas, was a native of Alabama who had run a grocery store in Chicago until it was destroyed in the fire of 1873.

> At the time of his election to the legislature, he was a teacher by occupation, keeping a private school near the center of the city. His election was in part the result of his efforts to train his colored constituents to cumulate or "plump" their votes for him. However, as he received 11,532 votes, and the total colored population of the city was less than 7,000, it is obvious that a large proportion of his supporters were white.[21]

The Negro community, however, did not gain its full political strength until the nineties, and did not reach the height of its power until after the great migrations of the twentieth century.

In the fall of 1876, the Chicago Negroes were stirred by news of outrages against their Southern brethren,[22] and direct action being impossible, they demonstrated their protest in the more usual manner--the mass meeting. The presence of a "colored company of Hayes and Wheeler guards" must have greatly reinforced their protective attitude toward the unfortunate victims of "Southern Outrages."[23]

Negroes, from colonial days, have taken a part in the patriotic and military organizations in America; therefore, emphasis on their patriotism has become an important part of the Negroes' appeal for equal rights.*

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*During the next decade, a Negro newspaper, The Conservator frequently referred to Negro soldiers. One article, COLORED SOLDIERS, quoted Colonel Shafter as telling a committee on military affairs, that they should "break down the color line entirely in the organization of the army." The editor commented warmly, "Colonel Shafter is right. Men who are noble enough to mingle their blood upon their country's altar should

During the seventies, the first formal Negro military units in Illinois were established. A Negro military organization achieved some prestige and importance at the close of the decade, when the Chicago Light Infantry was set up with a partial subsidy from the State.[25] From its inception it was ignored by the State Guard, however, whose "commanding officer . . . . refused to recognize the company as a part of the regularly organized State Guard, principally on the grounds of the alleged disreputable character of its members."[26] A Negro commentator stated, however, that this unit was considered to be the best drilled military organization in the North West. It was attached to the Seventh Regiment Illinois National Guard and received the highest commendation of the State officials.[27] As early as 1875, an article in the white press captioned "COLORED MILITIA" reported that the "Sixteenth Battalion" held a picnic at Wilmette entertaining visiting companies from St. Louis and Columbus. The "Sixteenth" was composed of two companies which had headquarters at their Armory, located at the corner of Jackson Street and Fifth Avenue.[28]

One factor strengthening the development of a Negro social structure in Chicago was the influence of the larger nation-wide organizations upon the Chicago Negroes. Thus, the fraternal order came into its own among Negroes in the late seventies when Chicago was host to the National

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certainly be free from petty, ignoble prejudice. The blood of the colored soldier flows as red as that of his Caucasian comrade. In the hour of peril our country knows no color line, but calls for MEN. Colonel Shafter rightly recommends that the same be done in the time of apparent security." There was also a note, "Sad but true," about a cadet at West Point who ". . . grew tired of relentless persecutions, gave up his position and went home."[24]

Convention of Negro Masons.*[30]

The musical talent of Negro performers was being harnessed and organized in the late seventies, when Wright's Operatic and Specialty Company achieved great fame by its appearances at the Auditorium, Medinah Temple, and Central Music Hall.[31] A Choral Study Club was founded and directed in 1878, by Mrs. Francis A. Powell, leading soprano in Olivet Baptist choir.[32]

But not all the Negro activities were directed along such serious lines, and the close of the Civil War gave birth to the Plantation Minstrels in Chicago, a lively cultural innovation which assumed the proportions of an institution by the mid-seventies. Its devotees were persons "of sporting tastes." This theatrical venture enjoyed great success and its manager, Lew Johnson, expressed his certainty of even greater success "inasmuch as the regular minstrel troupes are expected to desert the southern circuits on account of the Civil Rights Law. . . ."[33]

Churches continued to multiply; at the close of the decade there were three large Negro churches, Quinn Chapel A. M. E., Olivet Baptist, and Bethel A. M. E. Mission, and the Providence Baptist Church. Two of these

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*The editor of the Conservator felt that Negroes were spending too much money upon lodge trivia, and referred to the Colored Knight Templar of Norfolk, Virginia who

". . . . have ordered one hundred and thirty-five suits with regalia costing $135.00 each for their parade on the occasion of the Yorktown centennial. What folly! Here we have an outlay of more than eighteen thousand dollars just for a few hours parade. Perhaps not a half dozen of these men own a foot of ground or have a bank account. We venture to say that no such instance of supreme stupidity can be found in any other nationality on the American continent. Norfolk needs a fool killer."[29]

(Yet membership in a lodge was essential for the maintenance of status in Chicago. The assistant editor of this paper was the most prominent fraternal man in the mid-west.)

churches are particularly interesting in that they represent voluntary withdrawals of groups of Negroes from white congregations. These were the St. Thomas Episcopal Church, and the Providence Baptist Church which has already been discussed.

The official history of the St. Thomas Episcopal Church relates the circumstances of its founding as follows: A meeting of eight women and two men was held in the summer of 1878 at a private home "to consider the advisability of forming a Protestant Episcopal Church in this city." The group corresponded with several prospective rectors in the East and South, and finally a Rev. Mr. Thompson from St. Louis came up to "look over the field." The Reverend then called on the Bishop who very readily gave his approval of the work and "permission to proceed."* The church remained small, but by 1882 had laid its cornerstone. "After the opening of the church for worship, the congregation and attendance increased and life as a church was assured."[35]

The routine statement of an official diocesan bulletin records the event as follows: "A hall was procured on the South Side where about twenty-five communicants from various city parishes were united in an unorganized mission."[36]

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*It is interesting to note that the Tribune reported that Bishop McLaren of Grace Church (white) was

". . . averse to the project, holding that it would needlessly establish a color line, where none in fact existed, the colored people being welcome to worship in any of the Episcopal churches."[34]

The Eighties

The newly formed Episcopalian congregation had a difficult time during the late seventies, but the minister:

> . . . . still . . . . kept up the service and preached his regular sermons with as much earnestness as if the house was crowded from the door to the altar rail.[37]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> He was as busy as possible . . . . trying to get some friends of the movement among the monied of the church to become interested in his work to substantially aid him in raising means to secure a house that the congregation could call their own.[38]

Finally, a friend was found in a Dr. Talmon Wheeler who gave them eight thousand dollars after they had purchased a lot on which to build. A contemporary account stated, sometime later, that: "Since the death of Dr. Wheeler, God put in the heart of his widow, Mrs. Wheeler to purchase for us a parsonage, thereby securing a home for our Rector and relieving us of the embarrassing necessity of paying rent."[39] The cornerstone of the new building was laid in 1882.

This was a period of rapid growth in population, thus making possible the greater differentiation of the occupational structure and the elaboration of a more complex associational system. The Negro community doubled itself between 1870 and 1880, and then added an additional thousand persons in the next four years, making a total of 7,517 Negroes in 1884. (Scarcely enough, however, to fill Chicago's two largest Negro churches of today.) This increase was accompanied by the southward push of the population, and records of the day make frequent reference to the movement of church buildings following the population.[40] (See Appendix I, Map 3.) At least five of the churches were either house-churches or "store fronts," while for the first time, exclusively Negro Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic congregations made their appearance. Some of

the new churches were formed through the process of "splitting," because of arguments arising within congregations over matters of theological doctrine, social philosophy, and church polity. These conflicts were often simply the ideological forms in which educational and economic differences were reflected and personality conflicts between the leaders and the led fought out. One of the most serious of these splits gave birth to the first of Olivet's many children. A local church historian still resident in the community relates the story, in his graphic way, as follows:

RE: JOHN FRANCIS THOMAS, D. D.

> The subject of this sketch was called to be Pastor, Minister and Leader [sic] of the Olivet Missionary Baptist Church located then on Harmon Court near State Street, in Chicago, in the pleasant year of our Lord, A.D. 1886.
>
> Just after a rift amongst the members, the contention of which was so sharp that it caused a split, and certain had gone out with one preacher whose name was Podd,* calling themselves Bethesda, which has remained until this day. Rev. Thomas who was afterward called "Pap", found this situation on his arrival, set about immediately to bring peace and harmony among the warring factions by advising them to recognize those succeeding members and grant them the hand of fellowship. His action in this matter gained for him a star in his crown which was never dimmed. Then he set about the task of eliminating those unscriptural practices, and unBaptistic innovations which had crept into the church unawares, such as
>
> (1) Blessing infants
> (2) Receiving Pedo-Baptism as valid
> (3) Calling young people a Christian Endeavor Society in the church, and using Sunday School Literature [sic] of other denominations against all of which he spoke with no uncertain sound, until he had awakened the Baptists of the Western States and territories.[42]

A strong interest in doctrinal questions and denominational exclusiveness was evident and a year later the new Bethesda was itself split

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*Fisher in his History of Olivet Baptist Church suggests that Rev. Podd had certain personal traits which annoyed many members of his congregation.[41]

by both doctrinal and social issues. Our account of this schism comes from the Tribune, and suggests that some of the Negro ministers were responsive to the more advanced philosophic and social thought of the day:

> The Rev. Bird Wilkins, the well known colored pastor of the Bethesda Baptist Church, (about 150 members) Thirty-Fourth and Butterfield Streets, sent a communication to his congregation yesterday tendering his resignation giving as a reason that he was no longer in sympathy with the Baptist denomination.

When interviewed by a Tribune reporter, he said:

> I believe in the fatherly kindness of God. The old idea of a God of vengeance, ready to burn up the world in hell-fire, is opposed to reason and common sense, and abhorrent to me. I no longer indorse the doctrine of the Trinity. My belief is that the Bible has a divine and human line of thought running through it; there is much good in the Bible and a great deal that is the entire opposite. I am also a free believer in open communion--that a Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, or a member of any denomination is entitled to the sacrament at my hands as well as a Baptist. I have acted on this belief and this has been a constant cause of dissatisfaction to a minority of my flock. They have found fault right along and wanted to restrict me to sermons on orthodox subjects. I preached a sermon on "Socialism" some three weeks ago which caused a great stir in my church. . . . I am a liberal Christian with a leaning toward Unitarianism. I am going to stay in Chicago and build a large church to be known as Liberty Temple. . . . Here the liberal minded church people of all denominations will be gathered, and I intend to show Chicago and the world a new sight - an advancing and progressing colored congregation.[45]

Rev. Wilkins at the time was editing a magazine, Pulpit and Desk. He was a native of Nashville, Tennessee, and was educated at Hamilton College and Shaw Theological Seminary; he was ordained a deacon at the age of 19, and became general missionary of the Baptists in Arkansas and Missouri, where he built sixteen churches. He was "called" to Bethesda from St. Paul, Minnesota, where he pastored the Pilgrim Baptist Church. (Liberty Temple was apparently never established.)

The general intellectual climate was one of unrest at the time of Rev. Podd's "heresy," and appeals to the religious tradition were being

made to sanction social change.* Two years before Rev. Podd's sermon on "Socialism," August Parsons, the anarchist, deriding a bishop for "baptizing" the cornerstone of the Board of Trade, had said sarcastically: "What a truthful follower that man must be of the tramp Nazarene, Jesus, who scourged the thieves from the Board of Trade of Jerusalem!"[44]

In the mid-decade, a depression was in evidence. Labor was crusading for the eight-hour day. Mayor Carter Harrison declared that "nine out of every ten citizens were with the strikers" during the street car strike of 1885. Finally, in 1886, "six men died under volleys of police fire outside the McCormick works."[45] The next day, the Haymarket Riot took the lives of seven policemen and several other citizens. The trials of the Haymarket anarchists** ensued and it is not strange that Bethesda followed the ideology of the judge who set the hanging for Friday, December third, 1886, rather than that of Parsons, the defendant, who said: "December 3rd --a Friday--hangman's day! The day our Lord Jesus Christ died to save the world. He may have died again and the world be saved again."[47]

The secular interests of the growing Negro community were giving rise to non-church, non-professional groups during the eighties and Harris'

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*The year before this, "Pastor" Taze Russell had published "The Time is at Hand," a booklet interpreting socialism as a part of "God's Plan." See St. Clair Drake, "Who are Jehovah's Witnesses," Christian Century, April 15, 1936.

**Schwab, one of the condemned men, defined anarchy as ". . . . a state of society in which the only government is reason; a state of society in which all human beings do right for the simple reason that it is right, and hate wrong because it is wrong."[46] The great fear of anarchists was due to the fact that one wing believed in direct action, using even assassination, to remove "tyrants" who stood in the way of the new society. All anarchists were not "dynamiteros," however, as e.g. Tolstoy, the great pacifist author, or Thoreau of Walden Pond fame. It was never proved that these men had anything to do with the Haymarket explosions.

directory listed 5 clubs in 1885, only one of which was a church-club: the Autumn Club, the Original Autumn Club, the Young People's Literary Society of Olivet Baptist Church, the Colibx Social Club, and the Eleventh Ward Social Club.[48] An Old Settler stated that there was also another association--the Derby Club--which was similar in type to the Autumn Club, both being "business men's clubs, and very exclusive--they were not at all like the clubs of today."[49]

As a probable outgrowth of the loose network of racial protest, the "Colored Men's State Central Committee of Illinois" was organized in the seventies, and in 1884 it met at the Palmer House to decide which presidential candidate to support. At this meeting there was some controversy between John Jones who supported Blaine and others who supported Arthur.[50]

The start of the fraternal societies in the settlement and by 1885 there were 21 lodges, 15 Masonic and 6 Odd Fellows, and 14 Benevolent Societies.

According to another pioneer resident, an additional social outlet was supplied in the eighties by the "private dancing school owned by Mrs. Etta Shoecraft Randall, where the young people spent much of their leisure time.[51]

For the most part, however, if we may trust the memories of living informants:

> . . . .the social life of the early '80's was mostly on a very small scale in the form of dinners and parties among the different families and clubs. These clubs were formed in and around the church. . . . . There were no women's clubs.[52]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> During the early '80's socializing was in the form of parties and dinners; other than this, the form of social life was found in the church.[53]

These persons also mentioned the Prudence Crandall Club[54] and the Manassah Society,[55] a club of white and colored who had intermarried; however, no notice of their activities appeared in the daily papers of this period.*

Summary

The Seventies and Eighties

The Negro community was becoming increasingly self-conscious during this period, a fact reflected in the establishment of three newspapers within the twenty years--the Conservator, the Colored Appeal, and the Free Speech. The Conservator became an influential organ, while the others were more or less ephemeral. In 1885, I. C. Harris published The Colored Man's Professional and Business Directory of Chicago, which listed all of the important associations, churches, and business and professional people. It was a significant index to the fact that the Negro community, as represented by the articulate educated citizentry, was becoming increasingly self-conscious.

Harris listed six important churches, omitting for some unknown reason, three: Quinn Chapel, Olivet, and St. Thomas, to which we have frequently referred. The full roster in 1885, seems to have been as follows:

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*See Appendix II for discussion of significance of the Manassah Club.

Church*	Location	Pastor	Remarks
Olivet Baptist	Harmon Court between Wabash and State	Rev. Henry H. Mitchell	Morning and evening Sunday services; Sunday School, 2:30 P.M.; Missionary Meeting, Wednesdays; Young Men's Christian Union, Thursdays; Prayer Meetings, Fridays.
Bethel A.M.E.	239 Third Avenue	Rev. W. G. Read	
Quinn Chapel A.M.E.		Rev. T. M. Henderson	
Bethesda Baptist	Thirty-fourth and Lutterfield	Rev. J. A. D. Podd	"Split" from Olivet.
St. Thomas Episcopal	Dearborn near Thirtieth Street	Rev. J. E. Thompson	
St. Stephens A.M.E.	634 W. Hubbard	Rev. R. Knight	
Emanuel Congregational	3945 Dearborn	Rev. G. E. Booth	
St. Augustine's Catholic	Wabash and Eldridge Court	Father Lounigan	Later known as St. Monica's, and pastored by Father Augustus Tolton; "first Catholic Priest of the American Negro Family."
Providence Baptist	11 W. Irving Place	Rev. J. W. Polk	

*Churches underlined still in existence (1935).

The Chicago Tribune, four years later, in 1889, mentioned five additional churches:[56]

Church	Date of Founding	Location	Pastor	Remarks
Grace Presbyterian	1888	Turner Hall	Rev. H. M. Jackson	
Hermon Baptist	1888	Turner Hall		
LaSalle Avenue Baptist				
Christian A.M.E.	After 1886	2320 State Street	Rev. G. F. Reed	"Split" from Bethel.
St. Luke's Chapel		Englewood	Rev. Solomon Nichols	Thirty members in 1889.
St. Paul M.E.		2862 State Street	Rev. W. C. Travers	Original St. Paul Split and moved here. Other faction stayed at original site and named church "Zion."
Zion M. E.			Rev. J. Washington	

That there were also other smaller churches is suggested by a statement in the Tribune, four years later, to the effect that, "a number of missions . . . . are doing good work among the colored people here . . . ."[57]

The following charts prepared from data in Harris' directory reveal the types of secular organizations present in 1885:[58]

Society ("Old Line")	Lodges	Location	Remarks
MASONIC	North Star #1	326 So. Clark Street	
	John Jones #7	326 So. Clark Street	
	Mt. Hebron #29	State and Sixteenth St.	
	Hiram #14	State and Sixteenth St.	
	Western Light #30	326 So. Clark Street	
KNIGHT TEMPLARS	Grand Consistory of Illinois	326 So. Clark Street	
	Godfrey Commandry #5	326 So. Clark Street	
	George Commandry #4	326 So. Clark Street	
	Corinthian Commandry #1	326 So. Clark Street	
MASONIC AUXILIARIES Heroines of Jericho	Eureka Court #11	State and Sixteenth St.	
ODD FELLOWS	Hutchinson #1362	248 Wabash Avenue	These various Odd Fellows have a large commodious hall at 248 Wabash Avenue, fitted up in grand style with every convenience desirable. They are the leading secret organization of the city and are increasing with great rapidity during the last several years.*
	Western Star #1443	248 Wabash Avenue	
	Golden Fleece #1615	248 Wabash Avenue	
	Past Grand Master's Council #20	248 Wabash Avenue	
ODD FELLOWS AUXILIARIES: Household of Ruth	Mt. Moriah #44 and #155	248 Wabash Avenue	

*Harris was a prominent Odd Fellow which may account for the lauding of this lodge and the absence of comments on the others.

Benevolent Female Societies	Lodge	Location	Remarks
Daughters of Union	#1	Olivet Baptist Church	Meetings: second Monday each month at 8:00 P.M.
Sisters of the Mysterious Ten	Mount Hope Temple	Odd Fellows Hall	
Daughters of Tabor	Western Light #87	Sixteenth and State Street	
Love and Charity	Western Eagle Tabernacle #127	621 W. Indiana	
	Olive Branch Tabernacle #23	Odd Fellows Hall	
	Rising Sun Tabernacle #1	Masonic Hall, 326 So. Clark	
Daughters of Tabor	Diamond City #72	Sixteenth and State Street	
	Emanuel Lodge #8	Odd Fellows Hall	
	Golden Gate Temple #2	Lincoln and Indiana	
G. Sons and Daughters of Samaria	Mount Olive #44	302 So. Clark Street	
Daughters of Zion	#1	Quinn Chapel	
Mothers and Daughters of Israel		Quinn Chapel	Meetings: when called by notice.
Sons and Daughters of Moses	Golden Temple #85	302 So. Clark	

Literary Societies	Location	Activities
Young People's Literary Society	Olivet Baptist Church	
Social Clubs		
Autumn Club		
Original Autumn Club	#50 Fourth Avenue	Eighteen "exemplary young men, very prominent in social affairs." Visiting days, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Special program, speaking, singing, promenading, and grand banquet.
Colfax Social Club	W. Lake Street	
11th Ward Social	W. Lake Street	
Chicago Light Infantry	Armory at 308 So. Clark Street	Eighty-six members "well versed in military tactics."

Files of the Negro newspapers of the era are not available, but the Barnett family has inherited a scrapbook, with clippings from the Conservator, which was made available to Professor Ralph Davis for his study of the Negro newspaper in Chicago.[59] The Conservator was founded in 1878 by Ferdinand L. Barnett, a young lawyer. Attorney Barnett, referring to the establishment of his paper stated in an interview:

> At the time the Conservator was started there were about five thousand Negroes in Chicago. The Conservator was started as a means of expression for Negroes and to aid in the promotion of the welfare of the Negro group.
>
> When the paper was started the behavior of many of the Negroes was characterized by loose living and a lack of proper standards. There were few Negroes of culture and refinement, and only a few jobs of any consequence were held by Negroes. The paper was devoted to the idea of stressing the importance of education, social uplift and correct living. Conflict between the races was not very great at the time the paper was started, consequently there was little space given to the discussion of race relations in the local community. There were, however, occasional clashes between the Irish and the Negroes. When these or anything else occurred they were discussed in the paper. The Conservator did start a discussion concerning the employment of Negroes as street car conductors and motormen /sic/. This did not amount to anything. We were just talking to hear ourselves.[60]

We are able to obtain a glimpse of the society during the seventies and eighties from a study of the Conservator. The picture is one of a compact, rapidly growing community, differentiated by community concensus into three broad social groups. The "respectables"--church-going, poor or moderately prosperous--often unrestrained in their worship, were looked down upon somewhat by the "refined" people, who because of their education could not sanction the less decorous behavior of their racial brothers. Both groups in turn were censorious of the "riff-raff," "the sinners"--unchurched and undisciplined. The "refined people" conceived of themselves as the defenders of the race and were often embarrassed by the less cultured Negroes who they felt should be whipped into line with ridicule, sarcasm, education, and as a last resort--the law.

The Conservator inveighed against the shady side of Chicago Negro life in an editorial:

> GOING TO RUIN
>
> We are calling attention to the fact that a number of our girls and boys are on the road to ruin. The boys rioting in the Clark and 4th

Avenue dives, laying the foundations for lives of thieves, thugs and murderers, and the girls walking the streets in gaudy attire--attracting notice--exciting comment and rapidly linking their lives, with those whose "house is the gate of Hell, going down to the chambers of death."

How sad it is to see the girls we have known in their innocent childhood, change their lives, just when life's days should be the brightest; change from piety, virtue and happiness to vice, dissipation and woe. Mothers are you blind? Fathers are you deaf? Christians are you asleep? For the sake of God and Humanity, let some one rescue these young lives from dissipation's perpetual gloom.[61]

As opposed to this type of life, the Conservator held up as "models," young people who were "improving themselves," and "advancing the race."

Four colored students graduated last week from the University of Michigan. Two in law and two in medicine. In conversation with colored students during the past year, we were glad to hear that scarcely a vestige of the "caste" spirit is ever seen. They attend or are free to attend all meetings, educational and social, and are never made to feel out of place. There has never yet been a colored graduate from the collegiate course.

Miss Mary H. Graham whose matriculation in '76 caused such a stir in Michigan circles will be the first to achieve this distinction. She is now a Junior and is notably proficient in mathematics and languages. Mr. C. Williams, a Sophomore and a young man of rare moral worth is winning a golden name at the University. . . . . He is held in high degree of respect by the citizens and the Faculty. In languages he is most proficient making them a particular study, as a means of increasing his powers when he enters upon his determined profession--The Law. Would there were more such men as he--Ethiopia might well rejoice.[62]

The paper was often caustic in its criticisms, and the following quarrel with the clergy and the church seems modern both in content and tone.

One of the truest test of a people's advancement is the character of their churches and attendance. As a rule we are a church going people, but we have contracted some woefully bad habits, and they are too serious to pass unnoticed.

Last Sunday night we attended one of our city churches, and felt like weeping in sackcloth and ashes over the poor order we witnessed. When eight o'clock arrived instead of the church being full and ready for services, there was hardly a third of the audience assembled, and so the minister in charge very unfortunately indulged the tardy ones by waiting for them to come.

As a result preaching began at eight minutes to nine o'clock--just about the time to sing doxology. The sermon was a good one, but there

is not much appreciation in one who goes at a reasonable hour and has to wait till bed time before it begins.

When the service was about half through the church became comfortably filled; young ladies who had been "billing and cooing" the entire evening, old people who had been busy chatting about their neighbors and forgot to look at the clock, the young scapegraces who stand upon the street corners and disgrace their parents and themselves by their interrupting the minister, annoying the audience and disgusting every one of sense.

One man entered the sanctuary at twenty-seven minutes to ten o'clock and instead of taking the first vacant seat, he had to walk as far down the aisle as possible with a tramp that indicated large 27 Brogans.

About this time people were sleepy, who could blame them; it was bed time. One brother in Israel did some nodding, that would make a billy goat hide his face--while about the middle of the church a sober-sided sister leaned up against the soft side of the iron pillar and took a regular old camp meeting snooze.

But there is an end to everything, so with the service, but oh what a disgusting close. Of course it was late--three minutes to ten--but that was no excuse. As soon as the choir began the doxology, about one-half of the audience broke for the door, just as they do when the curtain is about to fall at the theatre.

All through the doxology a continual stream poured out of the doors, and deacons stood and looked upon the shameful conduct without a remonstrance. They should have closed the doors. If people have forgotten their manners a judicious reminder is always in order. At last the benediction was pronounced over the faithful few who went early--went to serve and not to be seen.

We dislike to show an ugly picture of a Chicago Church but we must look at the facts squarely. In the first place our ministers should begin their services on time. There is no earthly excuse for delaying the sermon. The more indulgence the people get the more they require, especially in warm weather.

If once they know that service will begin at eight they will be on hand. Again early service, short sermons and prompt dismissals will obviate all napping in church, and a determined stand taken by the church officials will stop this scandulous unmannerly theater like dismissal which disgraces our city churches.

Let us hope that these thoughts, which however harsh they may seem are candid and with good intent, will cause our people to remedy these existing evils.[63]

Davis continues:

The text on the "Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace" so often indulged in by some Negro ministers of past generations did not escape the editor's critical pen. In this criticism the editor points out the purpose and function of the church and urged the ministers in charge of churches to see that well prepared persons are presented to the public:

Poor "Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego" caught it last Sunday at the Olivet. Reverence for the good old man forbids any harsh comment upon the "few broken remarks" and it was reverence alone which kept many from walking out of the church before they were half given. Had the sermon been preached to some audiences there would have been a happy time--heartrending groans, spasmodic cries, upturned benches, fainting females and annihilated water-falls, but Chicago audiences are not given to such backwoods demonstrations. They go to church to learn, they have learned ministers and look for good sermons. We hope our ministers will either supply their own pulpits or see that they are ably and acceptably filled. This practice of filling the pulpit of a first class church with a fifth class preacher, is a nuisance, and should not be tolerated.[64]

Questions of social status which interested the less church-minded "respectables" of the day, as well as the role of the white middle classes as the prestige-bearers of the total society, can be inferred from this sprightly exchange of letters in the Conservator:

PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

To the Editor--I presume that there will be few who will question the sincere desire upon my part to improve the morals and respectability of our people resident in this city. Consequently I have no fears but that a criticism by me of the communication and editorial in the last number will be understood as not courting a discussion of the question of needed social improvement of our Social affairs, but a desire to resent the captious fault finding which prevades both articles, without in either case suggesting a remedy of investigating the cause of the demoralization complained of. I have not the desire or inclination to apologize for the seeming recognition which is complained of as being given to certain characters at such places and I view such contact as highly demoralizing, yet you suggest no remedy that will be efficient. I am of the opinion that the entertainments referred to are given by the various bodies who do give them for the pecuniary benefit of the societies with which they are identified, and as such, are to be viewed from a purely business point of view. The proprietor of a place of business would be deficient in proper business capacity did he allow the character of his customers to become a barrier to the proper prosecution of such business, provided such customers observed the proper rules of courtesy upon his premises; so in the entertainments referred to, being only a business character it would be insane in the parties interested in their pecuniary success to insist upon a certificate of good moral character so long as the parties maintained the proper decorum. The inadvisability of such exclusiveness in entertainments of an entirely public character was fully exemplified in the financial result of a select picnic given by the Masonic Lodge in which they endeavored to consult good morals and correct taste by issuing invitations, with the result of greatly diminished exchequer. The majority

of reputable people invited remained at home, and those upon whom they might have depended for a proper sustenance were not among the elect. It cannot be denied that the contact sustained in these public affairs is, to a certain extent, contaminating /sic/, but the remedy is as plain as the evil. Let those who feel that they are not sufficiently secure in their respectability refrain from contact with the offensive rabble. Let the proper entertainments be instituted upon a more select basis and for social benefit alone, not to replenish a depleted exchequer. The desire expressed for a superior class of entertainments is a proper one, and should receive the proper encouragement, but the sanctimonious cant contained in the communication referred to, is the nauseating repetition of the objection to young men participating in the amusements provided at these entertainments. This refrain has been repeated so often, with no suggestion of a remedy or effort to supply the lack of proper amusements, that to one who sincerely desires the improvement of our society, it is positively disgusting. With a city crowded with young men and but one society of a social character that tolerates dancing, for a person of professed respectability, knowing this deficiency, to censure these persons for indulging in such pastime, is to present objections so flavored with sanctimonious hypocracy as to be almost unbearable.

Why does not your immaculate correspondent institute a series of amusement for their benefit, and when they show a lack of appreciation, then censure them. They must have amusement why censure them for this indulgence, when you and your compeers in your immaculate and exalted sphere of social exclusiveness, make no attempt to supply the deficiency? I make no objection to their indulgence, as I know that I am fully as responsible for the fact that there are so few places of amusement open as many others of the older citizens, who have it in their power to cater to the social enhancement of their young friends, yet have studiously avoided all efforts in that direction. The responsibility should be placed where it belongs.

Your correspondent objects to miscellaneous dancing, and at the same time censures the interminable oratory indulged in. Would he rob us of all our amusements? Take dancing from the profane, and public speeches from the goody-goody, what will be the result? Such social apathy that we will only have church going as a recreation, and there listen to the, in many instances the senseless tirades which you so fitly characterized in a late number of your paper. How many citizens are there who offer these young men the amount of hospitality which should be extended to them to prevent their seeking questionable amusements? How many social clubs are there in existence which are not permeated with the religious cant that pervades our social structure at not to view the holy horrors the crime of dancing, while at the same moment crimes against society are committed and screened, which those whom they censure for public dancing would shudder to tolerate, much less commit. Place the responsibility where it belongs. Upon one hand we have a religious element which affords no amusement for the young, save that afforded by some of the grotesque, fanatical church performances, and on the other, highly exclusive element which can, but will not, provide the recreation which should be given the younger portion of our social world.

I accept whatever responsibility I may be under for any over exclusiveness in the matter considered, and scorn to censure these persons for indulging in such amusements as myself and others should afford them upon a more exclusive and refined basis; which provision would remove the probability and excuse they now have for committing the great social outrage which has so excited the sensibilities of your correspondent.

Lewis B. White.

ANSWER

Our correspondent says it is captious fault-finding to raise our voice against associating ourselves, our wives, and sisters with the most degenerate inmates of prostitution. Chicago society has so long tolerated this festering evil that it now finds excuse and palliation. What greater proof do we need of its degenerating influence? Talk of finance! Better that all societies in our city go into bankruptcy than our sensibilities be so blunted as to tolerate the presence among respectable people of pimps and prostitutes.

The gentlemen cites the Masonic which proved a financial failure. We refer him to the picnic given by the Sunday Schools where no invitations were sent, and still no improper characters allowed, and which was a marked financial success; also to the first of August picnic, where his theory was fully carried out, and as a result the disreputable doings of the day have been published to the world, and brought shame to every colored person in the city. From his argument one would infer that our society finances must be furnished by these poor unfortunates. The cause of this seeming necessity is that societies cater so much to their wants that they alienate respectable people, and that Christian societies often do harm by their over zealous endeavors to do good. We can see no reason for refusing to allow ladies and gentlemen to dance when they feel so disposed. It is a precaution rarely taken in white circles, and their social status is a good guide. But because we cannot have our enjoyment as we wish, is no excuse or palliation for the association of good and bad, as we have mentioned above.

When do we ever find the residents of the Avenue mixing with denizens of the gilded hells of infamy. Did our correspondent ever see a white gentleman publicly recognize a fast woman? Did he ever see a white gentleman introduce his wife into their presence? Did he ever see him leave his wife and lose himself in the whirl of a merry dance with a "soiled dove" in his embrace? Can white gentlemen do so and maintain their social position? Certainly not. Can we afford to lower our social status? What respect will white people have for us, if they know that we mingle freely, good, bad and indifferent all in one motely mass for the sake of money? Is not morality above money, money getting? Must decent people become the consorts and associates of prostitutes that a society may prosper? We answer, no. If societies cannot give entertainments and protect their respectable patrons from the jeers and elbowing of street walkers, let them come out squarely and give fast balls, and respectable people will protect themselves by staying away. As it is they carry on a perfect imposition. They ad-

vertize a "grand entertainment" have half a dozen speakers and thus draw a respectable audience. Speaking over, this audience should be allowed the pleasure of dancing - but no; at 12 o'clock the scene changes. As if by magic the house is filled with white and black prostitutes, and the grand entertainment degenerates into a fancy house ball. The gentleman asks for a remedy. There is no remedy save in prevention.

There is only one place where decent people and outcasts can meet on a level and that is the grave. Elsewhere there is a gulf unalterably fixed between them and all financial sophistry and policy schemes cannot bridge it. The invective of our immaculate correspondent (truthfully so called for she a lady of the first circle in our city) may be "sanctimonious cant." We may be guilty of "captious fault-finding." Our objectors may be flavored with "sanctimonious hypocracy" but we are proud of our "exalted sphere of social exclusiveness," and we will labor to create a public sentiment that will scorn to tolerate the presence of prostitutes and their paramours among decent people. We will endeavor to tear the gilded sophisms from vice and show its gilded mein and to establish a social line, on one side of which is purity, virtue and happiness, and on the other certain death.[65]

Although lines of social class were evident in the community, solidarity in the face of the white world was also evident, and intra-racial criticisms were excused as follows: "Let us hope that these thoughts, however harsh they may seem, are candid; and with good intent, will cause our people to remedy existing evils."[66] It was only natural that thoughtful individuals would see an opportunity in the political world to both "advance the race" and gain some individual prestige and emoluments. Editor Barnett about 1878 wrote an editorial, POLENT YET PACIFIC, in which he stated that the colored people of Illinois though "comparatively few in number . . . . hold the balance of power."[67] However, he allayed the fears of the Republicans, but at the same time threatened a split vote in these words:

> We are an important factor in the body politic and we know it, but we have never once used our power to defeat the party which lays claim to our gratitude and support. . . . . The Republican Party need not fear a loss of our votes so long as a due regard is paid to our acknowledged rights, but when it courts upon us as a matter of course, and refuses to consult our wishes there will be exercised that potent influence we are known to possess and which so far we have held in peace.[68]

The maintenance of racial solidarity was necessary to preserve the institutional structure which had arisen and the positions of the business and professional classes within it, as well as the positions in the various associational hierarchies. It was an inevitable reflection of a biracial social organization, particularly when such organization implied super and sub-ordination. There was much confusion over the apparent contradiction between the struggle for equal rights and the defense of biracialism--as for instance Barnett's appeal: "As a race let us forget the past so far as we can, and unite with other men upon issues, liberal, essential, and not dependent upon color or skin or texture of hair for its political gravamen," and his consistent attempts to foster solidarity as in the editorial, "SPELL IT WITH A CAPITAL":

> We have noticed an error which all journalists seem to make. Whether from mistake or ill-intention we are unable to say, but the profession universally begin Negro with a small letter. It is certainly improper, and as no one has ever given us a good reason for this breach of orthorography [sic], we will offer one. White men began printing long before Colored men dared read their works, had power to establish any rule they saw fit. As a mark of disrespect, as a stigma, as a badge of inferiority, they tacitly agreed to spell his name without a capital. The French, German, Irish, Dutch, Japanese and other nationalities, are honored with a capital letter, but the poor sons of Ham must bear the burden of a small n.
>
> To our Colored journalistic brothers we present this as a matter of self interest. Spell it with a capital. To the Democrat journals we present this as a matter of good grammar. To the Republicans we present this as a matter of right. Spell it with a capital. To all persons who would take from our wearied shoulders a hair's weight of the burden of prejudice and ill will we bear, we present this as a matter of human charity and beg you SPELL IT WITH A CAPITAL.[69]

But it was a contradiction that did not impede action.

When the nineties came, the pattern of relationships between Negroes and whites, and within the Negro community, was fairly well set. In 1874, Negroes were admitted to the public schools, after a decade of pressure by the community; and in 1885, a Civil Rights Bill was passed, guaranteeing Negroes legal equality of status. Their emancipation was complete.

The Nineties

The nineties were hectic years in the life of Chicago. Included in them were: a great World Fair, a titanic labor struggle, the assassination of the mayor on his doorstep, and the launching of a rousing crusade against vice. By 1890, Chicago had become America's second largest city. Although 68 per cent of its population was foreign-born, it was not Europe alone which gave its sons to the city, for according to the colorful historians, Lewis and Smith: Each year thousands of young men set their faces toward the adventurous city while their mothers wept for fear of Chicago's contaminating sins. Chicago was known as a young man's town.[69]

Among them were such up-and-coming young men as Adelbert Roberts, who later became the first Negro State Senator, and Dan Jackson, university trained gambler-politician who died thirty-seven years later with a reputed fortune of a quarter of a million dollars. But the great black masses along the route of the Illinois Central Railroad--Dixie South--had not yet been stirred.

Negroes were scattered all over the city, but by 1890, "an almost continuous belt of Negro occupancy had been formed from the edge of the downtown business district to Thirty-fifth Street between State and Wentworth. In this area, Negroes formed a large percentage of the population."[70] Negroes had also begun to settle on Forty-seventh Street. The area of Negro concentration was contingent to the so-called "vice area" of the city, and therefore, the more prosperous and successful Negroes tended to move East of State Street and South of Thirty-fifth Street when property could be secured, while the wealthy whites who had lived in the "thirties" on Prairie Avenue were moving to the Gold Coast on the North Shore.

The bulk of the employed Negro population was engaged in domestic and personal service and unskilled labor, but the professional and business classes were steadily growing, and opportunities in federal civil service arose after 1895.

In 1893, there were 78 postal employees but by 1900 there were 135. With a liberal political administration under Mayor Washburne, a number of policemen were appointed and by the middle of the decade there were 23 in uniform.[71]

The World's Columbian Exposition--1893

Perhaps the most important event for Chicago during the nineties was the famous World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, dubbed by President Cleveland, "stupendous results of American enterprise . . . . magnificent evidence of American skill and intelligence. . . . ."[72] The relationship of the Negro community to this event throws some light on Negro-White relations and the strength of Negro institutions during the nineties.

In 1892, Negroes were demanding representation at the Fair, and the Tribune carried a news article about their demand:

COLORED CITIZENS AND THE FAIR

WILL APPEAL TO CONGRESS FOR AID IN SECURING REPRESENTATION.

R. M. Mitchell presided at a meeting of colored citizens held at Quinn Chapel last night to discuss the part to be taken in the World's Fair by colored citizens. Prof. Hale G. Parker and the Rev. W. B. Derrick of New York addressed the meeting, and the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The colored people of the country being entitled in common with all the other citizens and tax-payers to just representation in the agencies and forces now at work developing the World's Fair; and,

Whereas, They have frequently and respectfully presented their claims to the appointing power and the Board of Reference and Control,

which claims have repeatedly been ignored and denied: and,

Whereas, We believe this World's Fair will exert a mighty influence over the moral and industrial life of all who actively engage in its stirring development, be it therefor,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that our best interests can only be conserved in an appeal to Congress to set apart 10 per cent of the $5,000,000 loan to be made by it to the World's Fair, and to enact such legislation as will enable the colored people to control the sum thus set apart for their benefit at the World's Fair.[73]

The petitioning Negroes finally secured permission to display an exhibit, and took an active part in the Fair.

Among the prominent out-of-town Negroes who visited the Negro community during the Fair was Frederick Douglass, symbol of the great abolition struggles. He was the guest of honor at several meetings, at least one of which was sponsored by the Prudence Crandall Club.* One meeting was reported as follows:

ANTI-SLAVERY MEN ARE HONORED AT BETHEL A. M. E.

SPEECHES BY FRED DOUGLAS, DR. CHARLES L. BENTLEY AND OTHERS

Commemoration services in honor of the heroes in the cause of freedom and political equality were held yesterday afternoon at Bethel A. M. E. Church, corner of Thirtieth and Dearborn streets, under the auspices of the Prudence Crandall Club. On the platform among others was seated Fred Douglas, who had just arrived from Washington. After an organ voluntary and prayer, Lloyd G. Wheeler, President of the Club, made a brief opening address. Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" was sung, and Dr. Charles L. Bently followed with a paper on "The Men of the Anti-Slavery Movement."[74]

When Douglass spoke, he did not forget Chicago's stormy forties and fifties, stating that:

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*The Prudence Crandall Club apparently represented the intellectual elements of the ministries. Among other things, its members "discussed, at several meetings, the 'Evolution Theory'".[75]

This was the only club which was sufficient by importance to receive mention in the daily press.

In this city, too, there were men. Let us not forget James Collins, John Jones, and Freer, who were staunch friends. Forty years ago there were always here a roof, table, and house for the most abject abolitionist.[76]

When he was ready to leave the city a meeting was held in his honor at Quinn Chapel:

FREDERICK DOUGLASS HONORED BY BOTH RACES AT HIS LEAVE TAKING.

Quinn Chapel, at Twenty-fourth Street and Indiana Avenue, was the scene of leave-taking between Frederick Douglass and the colored people of Chicago last night. The church was filled with an audience of white and colored people. . . . . In speaking of the prejudice against men of his race in the South, he said the people of the South had better beware as to how they aroused the strength in the black man's arm. When he made this reference he was cheered.[77]

Among the features of the Fair were the great "congresses":

Now was the time to solve everything. There was one congress of "strong-minded women," as they were then known. Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the Countess of Aberdeen, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, and many others whose names still mean something, were on the program. Temperance reformers had a big time with Frances Willard and Archbishop Ireland as leaders. Social reformers followed suit, discussing such things as pauperism, juvenile delinquency, prevention of crimes. Bankers met, but Chicago bankers, preoccupied by the panic had to stay at their desks. And there were other meetings, culminating in the vast Parliament of Religions, an assemblage of all faiths, of all the greatest religious leaders - except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who could not convince himself of the "parity" of other faiths with his. He was not missed. Under the Rev. John Henry Barrows, Chicago silver-tongued preacher, all races, creeds, and traditions got a hearing. All seemed to expect the millenium which did not arrive in 1893.[78]

Indeed, instead of the millenium came the Four Horsemen,--The Panic of 1893--and the Spanish-American War!

In September, the A. M. E.'s met:

Delegates from all parts of the United States to the African Methodist Episcopal Congress gathered yesterday morning in the Hall of Washington. The interest taken by the colored people of Chicago was apparent from the large audience present. The combined Choirs of Quinn and Bethel Chapels furnished excellent music during the session.

> . . . . After being welcomed by President Bonney, Prince Walkonsky of Russia made a short address. . . . . One of the features of the session was the presence of the Rev. Daniel A. Payne of Wilberforce, Ohio. Bishop Payne is the oldest living Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Hampered with a feeble and aged body his mind is as bright and clear as though ninety years had not rolled over his now snowy white head. His words were received with great conviction and enthusiasm.[79]

The topics discussed dealt with the history of this, the oldest Negro denomination. Among them were: "The Philosophy of the Episcopacy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church"; "The Origin, Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church"; "What are the Needs of the Hour?"; "The Heroines of Methodism Before the War"; "The Religious Press, Its Power and Influence"; "The Literature and Authors of the African Methodist Episcopal Church."[80]

In February of 1893, the Methodist Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society met at the First Methodist Episcopal Church (white). Prominent clergymen and laymen were present, and

> . . . . several noted Methodist Ministers delivered addresses on the right of the Negro in the Church. . . . . Among other remarks concerning the Negro and his value as a citizen and Christian, /a speaker/ said that the effort now made to create the impression that the Negro is a vicious and dangerous element of society was astounding. "The effort," he said, "expends itself in making the most of every occasion of crime on his part, and so putting him in the position of the unfortunate animal who is pursued by the cry of a mad dog and who, whatever his condition may be as to health or otherwise, is destined to a tragic end."
>
> During his discourse, he endeavored to prove that the assertions against Negroes' usefulness were without foundation, stating as an example the immense cotton crops wrought by the hands of the black men. His closing remarks were to the effect that the colored man will probably have to fight his way by patient, toilsome, and long suffering efforts, much the same in the future as in the past, for the next generation or two.
>
> Dr. J. C. Hartzell of Cincinnati dwelt . . . . upon the disfranchising of the Negro by legislative legerdemain in the State of Mississippi, and the idea that the Methodist Church should be divided into separate sections one for the black and the other for white people he

denounced as unmethodistic and unchristian. In conclusion he said; "Let the Methodist Episcopal Church stand by its colors and preach the gospel.". . . .

A mass meeting was held in the evening at the Church. . . . . The program consisted of stereopticon representations of the schools, churches, faculties, etc., of the Methodist Church in the South, together with representations of plantation life costumes, habits, work, and worship of the colored and white people, by the Rev. J. C. Hartzell, accompanying it with a descriptive lecture.

Bishop Samuel Fallows of this city addressed . . . . himself almost wholly to a review of the reasons why the Methodists are making so much greater headway in the South than the Presbyterians. The union of the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Educational Society he characterized as a particularly happy combination. Bishop J. W. Joyce followed with a ringing plea for more money and greater enthusiasm in prosecuting the work of the society. In presenting his subject, "The Present Status of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South," he said: "We have 33 conferences south of the Ohio River in what was slave territory, 17 annual conferences among the colored people and 16 among the white people. We have 6,008 churches and 700 other places in which Church meetings are held, a total of 6,778. Since the beginning of its existence the society has spent $4,700,709. The Church Extension Soceity has built 6,000 Churches, and the Freedmen's Aid Society has put up forty colleges which have 10,000 students. We have 246,174 colored members and 253,076 white members a total of 499,250. As each actual member represents two additional attendants, we have a constituency of 1,479,-750. We have given back to you $1,580,000."

He also laid special stress on the statement that the people of the South are Protestants.[81]

The Catholics met in September and the "Colored Catholic Congress" issued a statement to the church:

> In the name of our brethren throughout America we desire to thank the church for the many charities conducted North and South by Catholic philanthropy distinctly for our people. We heartily indorse the magnificent effort our church is making in educating our youth in industrial lines. We are proud of our parochial schools, our orphanages, and higher educational institutions, but above all things we rejoice that our church, the Church of our love, the Church of our faith, has not failed to stand by its historic record. And at this time, notwithstanding race antagonism is at its height, notwithstanding, after only thirty years of freedom, the Negro has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the reasonable, intelligent, God-fearing, and Catholic that the Negro is a man and brother, public opinion has molded the sentiment that a Negro could not be a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has rebuked this sentiment by ordaining the Rev. Father A. Tolton,* the first Negro priest in America, and the Rev. Father C. R. Uncles to the exalted estate of Catholic priesthood. We desire to say, every encouragement, every fraternal greeting extended the priests of

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*See p. 73

> our race are in our opinion so many more proofs of the divine truth of Catholic Religion. The Catholic spirit we ask for in the future is that exemplified by the Columbian Catholic Congress in making the Colored Catholic Congress a part of itself. /italics ed./[82]

This expression of appreciation reveals the acceptance by this body of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of education, as well as a keen sensitiveness to racial discrimination.

At one meeting of the Parliament of Religions, Bishop Arnett of the A. M. E. church presided, and the account of this meeting is quoted in its entirety, in that it gives the contrasting attitudes toward racial advancement of a white Catholic and a Negro Methodist, and reveals some of the myths held by Negroes and whites respectively, viz., the beliefs in the inferiority of Negroes on one hand, and the exaggerated claims of a "racial history," on the other.

Bishop Arnett's address reveals the typical florid oratory of the period, reminiscent of the Bryan and Ingersoll tradition, and states the case for the Negro as it was presented by the more conservative leaders of the North. It appeals to the democratic-humanitarian tradition, and the ideals of Christian brotherhood, as well as to the ideals of the white middle class. The position is essentially that of Booker Washington, modified to fit a northern situation where to request political power was neither heretical nor dangerous. Professor O'Gorman's paper presents the Catholic view of the "Mystical Body of Christ" and the "Order of Nature" as the common denominator of humanity, but does not suggest disturbing the hierarchial order of races and classes. Bishop Arnett's emphasis was on "The Heights We Have Reached"; Professor O'Gorman's paper was on "The Depths From Which We Have Come." The former view tends toward exaltation and enthusiasm; the latter toward caution and patience. Both accept the ideal of the eventual "equality" of all men:

TO UPLIFT THE NEGRO

Earnest Pleas Made For the Colored Man's Elevation.

Relation of the Catholic Church to the Dusky Race Ably Stated in a Paper Read by Prof. O'Gorman--Bishop Arnett Speaks Encouragingly of the Progress of the Negroes and Asks for the Full Rights of American Citizens; Prejudice Should Not Prevail.

More enthusiasm prevailed at last evening's session than at any yet held during the Parliament. The words of Bishop Arnett of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as he pleaded for justice and fair play for his race aroused the audience to prolonged applause. Bishop Arnett was the presiding officer, and introduced Prof. O'Gorman of Washington University, who read a paper prepared by the Rev. J. R. Slattery of St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, Maryland, on "The Catholic Church and the Negro Race." He said:

"In the eyes of the Catholic Church the Negro is a man. Her teaching is that through Christ there is established a brotherly bond between man and man, people and people. Just as in the order of nature we have a common origin, so in the order of grace we have a like source and the same channels of salvation. If, then, the Negro may be called a man among men, and an heir to all the glorious privileges of humanity, and also of Christianity, what, we may ask, are the means to be employed to place him in possession of his divine heritage? There is, I believe, one true means for his advancement, and that is the Negro himself, guided and led by Christianity. The first element in the elevation of the human race is the black man himself. To attempt anything for the black man without making the black man himself the chief instrument for good would be to attempt the play of "Hamlet" with the part of Hamlet left out.

"His future demands the building up of his character, and this is best done by the mingled efforts of brotherly white men. In the formation of his character, which is his weak spot, chief stress should be laid on moral training and education. External influences controlled by noble men and women of both races will count for more with him than with us. Neither by nature nor by traditional training can the colored people, taken as a body, stand as yet upon the same footing of moral independence as their white brethern. The careful, patient, and Christian intervention of the whites and the best of the blacks, working together, in using all the means demanded for the formation of manhood and womanhood is their right, as well as their need, in the present hour."

The next paper was by Bishop Arnett who said in substance:

The Negro is older than Christianity. In some way or other he has been connected with the history of every age and every work, so that no history of the past is complete without some reference to the Negro or his home, Africa, whose soil has been abundantly fruitful in some of the

best and many of the worst of human productions. Standing in the presence of the chosen representatives of the culture, intelligence and wealth of the civilization of sixty centuries, the legitimate heirs of at least 180 generations of men, there is a grandeur and sublimity in the occasion, which makes me feel the more the weight of the hour, and the importance of my message from a people who have suffered in the "iron past" so much sorrow, shed rivers of tears and foundations [sic] of blood, while the winds of heaven bore aloft their petitions to the Most High. They prayed and their prayers were answered by the Christian's God. The "doors of their prison" were thrown open by an invisible hand. That hand still holds the door open, and says to us and to you, "I can open and no man can shut. I can shut and no man can open."

We are enjoying the silver present, constructing and reconstructing the family altars, furnishing our homes, accumulating property, cultivating the spirit of the Nazarene towards our foes, laying a foundation broad and deep in goodness, intelligence, and usefulness, so that the future generations may complete the temple of universal liberty and justice--a temple before whose altars all men shall be equal, and every race, kindred, and tongue shall furnish an Aaron to administer before its altar, and Levites to sing the songs of freedom and redemption. I have an abiding faith in Christianity and believe that we are on the threshold of a golden future, that the future home of every Negro will be a temple and a sanctuary, dedicated and consecrated to religion, morality, and education, with the father the preceptor in Art, science and literature, and the mother the teacher of domestic economy.

All we ask is the right of an American citizen, the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that we be given the rights and privileges that belong to every citizen of a Christian Commonwealth. It is not pity we ask for, but justice; it is not help, but a fair chance; we ask not to be carried but to be given an opportunity to walk, run, or stand alone in our own strength, or to fall in our own weakness. We are not begging bread, but craving an opportunity to earn bread for our wives and children. Treat us not as wards of a nation, nor as objects of pity, but treat us as American citizens and Christian men and women. We do not shun judgment, but we do ask to be judged justly and without prejudice.

Hear both sides of our case before you render a verdict and then render it according to the testimony given.

J. M. Bell, a colored man, then recited an original poem. The session was concluded by the little son of Bishop Arnett presenting a handsomely bound volume of "Ashley's Orations and Speeches" to the author, ex-Gov. James M. Ashley of Ohio, one of the pioneers of the Anti-Slavery League. . . .[83]

Newspapers discussing Negro participation at the Fair emphasized two aspects of Negro life: (1) unique "Negro" traits, and (2) the Negro's ability to acquire the values of "civilization." A long article in the Tribune

in 1893: "PRIDE OF THE RACE---THREE DUSKY POETS," revealed the outlines of these beliefs. "Primitivism" was already accounted a fact and a virtue by friendly white critics, and Negroes had long since acquired the reputation of being "good singers":

> In literature as well as music the presence of the Negro is assuming a distinct phase of development. It is being asked on every hand, what means this strange growth? Emotional, florid, intense, tropic, if you please to name it so, it gathers life and strength with the growing years and takes hold with fascinating charm the thought of the whole people.
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> . . . . . .
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> In Chicago at this time there are three Negro poets of positive power - Albany A. Whitman, William H. A. Moore, and Paul Dunbar.* Albany Whitman is the oldest of the three, Moore the next, and the youngest Dunbar, having just reached his majority. They stand as three distinct types of the American Negro. Whitman has few of the physical characteristics of the Negro. There are many places in the North where he could easily pass for a well-to-do white Southerner, his manner of speech and dress, the contour of his head and the cast of his features betraying scantily his Negro origin. Moore is of that deep full brown which has been made familiar to us by the distinguished Hindoos, who visited the World's Parliament of Religions. His hair and features, however, disclose his origin, and it can be told at a glance that the African is dominent, if not wholly in control. Dunbar is a pure specimenof the African. He is dark complexioned and the cast of his features point unmistakably to his unmixed blood.
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> Whitman's early life was spent in Kentucky. At the close of the war he came North and sought the means of an education. It was a struggle beset with many difficulties. He secured the bulk of his education at Wilberforce University, of which Bishop B. W. Arnett, who was one of the most popular figures in the Parliament of Religions, is a controlling spirit. He afterwards became a minister of the African Methodist church, and is still numbered among the organization's most influential and able divines. Mr. Whitman began writing verse about 1877.
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> . . . . . .
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> Mr. Dunbar has, undoubtedly, a great future and it is not expecting too much to look for some work from his pen which will arrest the attention of all the people of the land. His poem read by himself on "Colored Americans Today" at the Fair grounds has made him well known to the people of Chicago.
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> . . . . . .
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> This sketch is not for the purpose of giving a place to these Ne-

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*Of this trio, Dunbar, alone, is now considered among the more gifted Negro poets.

gro poets in our literature, but simply to acquaint the readers of the Tribune with the fact that we have had among us this summer colored men and women who are not only students of the literature of our language, but are also making creditable effort to play a part in the development of what might be called American literature.[84]

During the summer of the Fair a financial panic struck the country, followed by a winter of extreme misery. Thousands of homeless men, victims of the Panic of '93 were sleeping in the parks, in the lobbies of the City Hall, and in police stations. The population of the poorhouse increased by four hundred in one week! Evictions ran to hundreds per day, and beggars were everywhere. Chicago rallied to meet the crisis, and "It was declared by a reliable newspaper that during the worst of the crisis sixty thousand men a day were fed free by saloon keepers. . . . ."[85] One observer charged that "The only place where the poor man can exist free now is the saloon."[86]

A Negro Baptist minister, however, looking back on this period, assigns a more important place to churches as agencies of relief, in this vivid description of the crisis:[87]

> In those days a mighty revival of religion had been moving since the World's Fair, about the close of which our great Mayor had been assassinated at his door.* The city was thrown into the deepest mourning and there followed one of the worst money panics seen in many years. Church doors were opened wide, missions houses were crowded, soup stations were erected all over the city. Mr. Moody had organized a mission band and toured the city, and I tell you to have seen and heard what was going on by and among the people would have made the days of Esther look very calm in comparison, indeed.
>
> Then troubles of all kinds arose with amazing swiftness and presented formidable new perplexities and problems in our individual home life and in the national economic life. Industrial and manufacturing establishments and kindred activities, supplemented with products of the arts and crafts and trades had closed their plants and laboratories, work rooms and shops. Skilled and common laborers by the millions

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* Mayor Carter Harrison was assassinated near the close of the Fair by a disappointed office-seeker named Prendergast.

were idle and their families daily begging for bread. Banks and other kinds of financial institutions were hard hit, and failures of same were many. Fortunes great and small were swept away, leaving hundreds of thousands of the people penniless. Credit in all channels of human progress was next to impossible to get.

Hardest hit of all in the great melting pot of American citizenship, the Negro was it. And for reasons perfectly obvious to the wise and the otherwise, it was perfectly plain to know and see why our people had little or no money at all. It was clear to all, why it was, of all the great institutions in existence dedicated to human uplift work and giving spiritual comfort to the distressed, and in keeping up a sustaining morale, our churches of whatever denomination they were suffered most, in the woeful money drought.

The several Baptist institutions located at various points in the United States, supplemented with homes for orphaned children and for aged people, which had received regular and substantial support by the Wood River Baptist Association, were among the vital fixtures denied, because cruel circumstances had enforced curtailment of such contributions. Financial support to the Evangelist and to the Home and Foreign Missions in likewise manner suffered in the blight on our National prosperity.

Collections at the Sunday services became almost extinct, and scarcely any money at all fell into the collection plate at the weekly prayer meetings and other special services. The rallies held periodically yielded only small sums. The cash contributions from friends and well wishers were well nigh nil. The ever popular church suppers and entertainment festivals which are chief social features of the several Christian denominational churches and generally contributing substantial sums to the church treasure were sparsely attended. Almost all money raised for the support of the churches was secured in real devoted Christian sacrifices.

Many of the churches in the Wood River Baptist Association were burdened with mortgages and unpaid bills incurred in rebuilding or making urgently needed repairs. In many instances the pastor's salaries were months and months in arrears. Sometimes the sexton's pay long over due.

The several pastors in the Wood River Baptist Association and the church officials besieged on every side by the present day needs, and seeing future demands, just in the offing, were hard put indeed, as the "hard times" conditions continued.

An army of Christian leader heroes was made in that great panic. Pastors in the Wood River Baptist Association shone in the galaxy of sturdy resourceful headsmen who under Christ, carrying His banner, emblazoned with the cross strove valiantly and faithfully in the Master's Cause. They worked successfully to save the encumbered church edifices from impending mortgage foreclosure. Debts of long standing were cleared. As normal economic and industrial conditions returned in a new era of National prosperity the Wood River Baptist Association was enabled gradually to resume the contributions in proportion.

One of the outstanding admirable features in the beginning of the new progress of the Wood River Baptist Association was seen in relief,

> then engaging the united co-operation of all possible agencies in the country, in administering succor to the millions of victims of the great depression. The good work done in the National crisis was all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the several churches in the association were staggering under the load of our own peculiar troubles and urgent demands, and high pressure on perilously slender, hard gotten income."[88]

The idealism of the "Congresses" at the Fair, coupled with the reaction to the shattering impact of an economic crisis, combined to produce a movement for civic reform which extended into the next decade and profoundly affected municipal life. An important factor in initiating the reforms was the sweeping condemnation which a British journalist, William T. Stead, made of Chicago's municipal life. The result was the organization of the Civic Federation, a body pledged to "do something about it." Beginning his attack with a speech at the Fair, Stead, a year later, threw a bombshell into Chicago by publishing a little red-bound, four hundred and fifty page booklet, "If Christ Came to Chicago," with a frontispiece showing Christ driving the money changers from the Temple. It ". . . . spared no millionaire's feelings, glossed over no single foul fact. Mothers begged their children not to read it."[89] Stead gave name and address of owners of property where prostitution prevailed, exposed the tie-up between police and racketeers and indicted the community agencies for their complacency in the face of a situation which needed ". . . . the application of every known device of sociology or religion to save it."[90] The chapter titles were appealingly colorful, "The Boodlers and the Boodled," "The Scarlet Woman," "Casting Out Devils," "Who is my Neighbor," etc.

Stead was critical of the Protestants, who, he said, ". . . . judging by the complaints which are heard from inside the church rather than from outsiders," have succumbed largely to the temptation of "being at ease

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in Zion." He said men were needed . . . . who would do more than "make faces at the devil from behind the pulpit."[91] Catholics received their share of condemnation, ". . . . the greatest of all his churches doing ecclesiastical goose-step. . . . ."[92] He told the horrified church people that ". . . . the devil has a mortgage upon many of the pulpits in Chicago . . . .,"[93] and accused congregations of having "a tendency to regard themselves as members of a select club meeting together for their spiritual edification and for harmless aesthetic indulgence."[94]

> "I do not know of any church in Chicago which utilizes the whole of its ecclesiastical plant as vigorously as do some of the leading churches of England. Two services a day on Sunday and a prayer-meeting, possibly once or twice a week, can hardly be said to be making the best use of an investment in real estate which is estimated to amount to at least $13,000,000. All money sunk in church buildings is God's trust money."[95]

The Civic Federation was led by a socially conscious banker, Lyman J. Gage, and included on its committees such persons as Mrs. Potter Palmer, Marshall Field, Cyrus Mc Cormick, Jane Addams. (Apparently only one or two Negroes were included.) It had a central council of one hundred, and branches in each ward.* There were special city-wide committees for special problems. The Federation got to work immediately, put through the city's first civil service law, fought against grafting garbage collectors, and made an "axe and crowbar assault on gambling," breaking up several downtown gambling places, and organizing the Municipal Voters' League. The latter

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* The object of the organization was ". . . . the concentration into one potential, non-political, non-sectarian center all the forces that are now laboring to advance our municipal, philanthropic, industrial and religious interests, and to accomplish all that is possible towards energizing and giving effect to the public conscience of Chicago. . . . . Especially do we believe it opportune that such a movement should begin while our people are yet filled with the new ideas, new ambitions, and inspirations drawn from the great Exposition and its most valuable adjunct, the World Congresses."[96]

Not one of the outstanding Negro ministers was a member.

organization began a give-no-quarter fight against crooked politics and within ten years had placed ten of its men in the City Hall.

During these stirring days of civic reform and labor struggle, evangelism went on apace. One commentator states:

> . . . how the great preachers drew! It was a thrill to hear John Henry Burrows, Hiram W. Thomas, (awful heretic though he was) Bishop Samuel Fallows, and the like. Billy Sunday had quit playing fielder for Anson's "Colts" and was about to launch his evangelistic career. The churches little or big, were on the list of drawing-cards.[97]

While the middle-classes and upper-classes were initiating their reforms via the Civic Federation, the forces of a vast labor upsurge were germinating. During the Fair there had been a strike of waiters at the restaurants. Their wages were raised to $15.00 a week.* Now, in the spring of 1894 came a reduction in wages of thirty to forty per cent in the Pullman shops and the discharge of a third of the force. There was no lowering of rents in the Pullman owned houses, and the makers of the sleeping cars downed tools.

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*There is evidence of at least one Negro organization designed to protect the economic interests of a section of the Negro working class, for in 1893, it was reported that:

> "The American waiters held a mass meeting yesterday afternoon, attended by 800 strikers and delegates from the German and Colored Waiters. An offensive and defensive alliance was formed between the three unions and an agreement made that no member of either union should take the 'place of a striker of any other union.'"[98]

In less than a week after forming this "alliance," the German, American and Negro waiters went on strike, the Negroes subsequently claiming that they were "sold out."[99]

On May 4, 1891, Provident hospital* was officially opened to the public at Dearborn and Twenty-ninth streets, in a small brick structure, with both Negroes and whites serving on the medical staff and as members of the Advisory Board. Designed as it was to accommodate Negroes and to train Negro nurses, it reflected a certain amount of segregation and prejudice against Negroes in the society at that time. The hospital soon became an object around which much of the charity in the community was organized. It also became a symbol of the Negro professional man's advancement. A contemporary account reports the opening, as follows:

> It was opened last night with singing and speeches. . . .. Nearly all the prominent colored people of the city were present during the evening. . . . . The opening address was delivered by Dr. J. T. Jenifer of Quinn's Chapel. . . . . He was followed by the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who congratulated the colored people. . . . . The Rev. D. J. H. Magee and Frank A. Dennison made short addresses. . . . . Twelve cots, established by private subscription and by the contributions of the colored people's churches are ready for patients.[101]

A white minister, the Right Rev. John M. Brown was president of the Board; a Negro minister, Dr. J. T. Jenifer was treasurer; and another white minister, Rev. Frank W. Gunsaulus, was on the Advisory Board of eight persons.

The community was still small enough to be rallied around a Home for Aged Colored People (incorporated in 1898), and as late as 1910 this institution was one of the most important objects of community charity, although it cared for less than one hundred persons. A group of popular young girls formed a "Girls' Committee for the Colored Old Folk's Home" and the same group also functioned as the "Girls' Provident Hospital Association."

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*A detailed analysis of the function of the Provident Hospital in articulating the Negro and white communities, and giving expression to intra-racial solidarity, has been prepared for this research by Miss Winifred Ingram, Research Assistant, and is available in manuscript form as a part of her "Analysis of Social Agencies in the Chicago Negro Community."

One significant trend during this period was the multiplication of women's clubs which later became the nucleus for the influential "Federated Clubs." Among the most active of these organizations was the Phyllis Wheatley Club (1896), which, along with the Ida B. Wells Club (1893), the Civic League of Quinn Chapel, The Progressive Kings Daughters of Bethel A. M. E., the Julis Gaston Club of Evanston, and the Ideal Women's Club, and the G.O. P. Club, formed the Women's Conference in 1897 to entertain the two year old National Federation of Women's Clubs. The Junior Half Century Club and the Prudence Crandall Club were in existence as mixed male and female "Social and Charity" clubs.

Among the purely social clubs were the Autumn Club, founded in the previous decade, the Columbia Club, and the Lotus Social Club of which a commentator said:

> . . . . composed of the leading colored people of the city, has a handsome club house at 1165 Washington Boulevard. The basement is devoted to billiards, pool and buffet. On the first floor are the parlors and the reading and lounging rooms. The card rooms are on the second floor. It is purely a social club.[102]

Among the miscellaneous organizations existing during the nineties was a "club of colored wheelmen" founded when Negroes were barred from competing in the Pullman road race held on Decoration Day, 1893, and the Ladies' Minstrel Group and a Girls' Drill Corps.

There was a rapid growth of Negro churches in the nineties.* Between 1890 and 1900, seven new Baptist churches were organized and five A.M. E. churches, as several of other denominations.

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*A wag remarked that among the white people, "there was a church for every two-thousand inhabitants. This was somewhat offset by the fact that there was a saloon for every two hundred."[103]

Something of the relative importance of these churches may be gleaned from a summary of an article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, in 1897:

Church	Pastor	Remarks
Olivet Baptist Harmon Court, directly under the tracks of the South Side Elevated. --- Have purchased lot at Dearborn and Twenty-sixth to escape the "ceaseless rumblings" of the elevated.	Rev. J. F. Thomas "Eloquent pastor of much power." --- Lothian in high standing. --- President of Western Baptist Educational Convention.	"One of the largest and most flourishing of the colored congregations." --- 2,000 members.
Bethesda Baptist Thirty-fourth and Vincennes Avenue. --- ". . . . pleasantly situated within easy reach of members."	Rev. [illegible]. --- "One of the most eloquent pulpiteers in the colored race here." --- Interested in Civic affairs.	". . . . Congregation includes many of the best of Chicago's colored citizens."
Quinn Chapel, A. M. E. Wabash and Twenty-fourth Street. --- Expect to occupy new church building by January 1, 1894.	Rev. [illegible]. --- Oberlin graduate. --- "Scholarly and eloquent." --- [illegible] will [illegible] the World's. --- Member of Indiana State Legislature, 1892. --- Recording clerk, [illegible], 1893.	

Church	Pastor	Remarks
Bethel A.M.E. Thirtieth and Dearborn. --- "A handsome church edifice."	Dr. [illegible] "Not yet 35." --- Ran on prohibition ticket in Michigan in 1888.	Debt has been reduced since Rev. [illegible] came one year ago (1892).
St. Stephens, A.M.E.	Rev. D. [illegible] Brown. --- Son of a Bishop. --- "One of the oldest of the pioneer men of the church."	Largest and oldest congregation on West Side.
St. Monica's [illegible] Catholic Thirtieth and Dearborn --- Now erecting a building for which Mr. [illegible] O'Neill has donated $[illegible]. --- Have contract to [illegible] Brown, a colored [illegible]. --- Expect to move in, in Spring of 1894.	Father Augustus Tolton. --- First Catholic [illegible] priest in the [illegible] of Ill. --- Graduate of St. [illegible] College, Quincy, Illinois, [illegible].	
St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal --- ". . . . does not by any means possess the handsomest edifice."	Dr. Thurston. --- St. Paul's College, New York. --- In city 17 years, founded St. Thomas. --- "Not a [illegible] orator but earnest and sincere."	"Said to be most fashionable colored church in Chicago." --- High church services.

Church	Pastor	Remarks
Grace Presbyterian		
Has built a substantial structure and paid for it. Aided by Mrs. David Brown of Princeton, New Jersey.	Rev. [illegible] A. [illegible]n, Pastor.	"Among the newer congregations."
	Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.	Membership increasing.
Miscellaneous Churches	"There are a number of missions that are also doing good work among the colored people here, but there is only space to mention those men who have the widest influence and hold the firmest place in the popular mind."	

Five years later, the Morris Dictionary of Chicago Churches listed Herman Baptist, Lexington Hill Church, Hyde Park Baptist Church, A.M.E., St. Mark's A.M.E., St. John's A.M.E., St. Mary's Mission, A.M.E., Layman Mission, A.M.E., and Walters' Metropolitan Zion, A.M.E., in addition to those listed on the chart.

Among the distinctive organizations associated with churches were the "Bible Bands" formed by a missionary of the Baptist Home Mission Society, who

> . . . during eight months in 1897 . . . lived in Chicago and organized a Bible band with a membership of forty women. There were two other bands. . . . Many Bibles [sic] and other books were sold or donated, and "Sunshine Bands" of children were formed.[1]

The great influx of Negroes during the World's Columbian Exposition served to introduce the larger community of Chicago to Negroes in other areas, resulted in some persons staying in the city, and increased the interest in church and associational life. The trends originating during this period found their full expression in the "New Century Epoch" which followed it.

The New Century Epoch
1900-1914

In the Reconstruction epoch, 1866-1899, the Negro entered vigorously upon his newly-gained freedom. During the first years of this period, the evidence tends to show, there was great activity in the fields of politics, education, and religion. But as time passed, the vigor and consuming passion of Negroes for independent achievement apparently lessened, and the glamor of the early accomplishments waned.

The New Century Epoch, 1900-1914, was therefore quite ordinary. In politics, and in educational pursuits the Negro's interest was not expressed or reflected by striking movements. There were no exciting events, no clashes or loyalties; and as a result, the history of this period is comparatively dull. In the church, likewise, there were no stirring changes, although there continued a solid and steady growth during these periods.

/Mays and Nicholson, The Negro's Church, pp. 32-33./

Coming of the Chicago Defender

In 1897, a young graduate of Hampton Institute had arrived in Chicago to begin the study of law by night while earning a living setting type by day. By 1905, the young printer-lawyer was ready to realize one of his dreams, and as editor, advertising manager, and newsboy, he launched the Chicago Defender. From the beginning, Robert S. Abbott set himself the task of reporting associational and church news as well as news of a more general character. Having been a member of the Hampton Institute Glee Club, he joined the "Choral Study Group" on arriving in Chicago, and it was among his fellow song-lovers that he received some of his earliest support. Also, as a member of the choir of Grace Presbyterian Church, he was in contact with an important segment of the business and professional world and the "stable middle class." Soon after founding the Defender, Editor Abbott employed one Julius Avendorph* as his society editor, and accounts of prominent persons and their affairs began to appear in the paper. From 1905 on, therefore, the major activities of the Negro community can be fairly well documented, although the early issues of the paper often had more "boiler-plate" than local news.

The Broad Ax

The Defender, however, was not the only Negro paper functioning in the early days of the century, for in 1889, Julius Taylor had founded the Broad Ax, a frankly political sheet, which according to Mayor Carter Harrison was designed to ". . . . disseminate Democratic principles and contend for the higher intellectual development

*Julius Avendorph was a respected private messenger for the officials of the Pullman Company, and enjoyed high status in the Negro community, partially because of his wide contacts with prominent white persons.

of the Afro-American race and mankind in general. . . . ."[106] The editor not only stated that he would ". . . . strive to infuse a spirit of liberal independence into the Afro-American voter. . . . ."[107] (i.e., teach him to vote Democratic), but also felt that ". . . . it is the duty of those comprising the white race to read and support Afro-American publications."[108] He gave them an interesting paper to read, for the Broad Ax adopted a satirical, preacher-baiting tone, and a general muck-raking point of view. Personal accusations were its stock-in-trade, and were usually defended as a means of improving the quality of racial leadership. One popular column was dubbed, "Hew To The Line--Let the Chips Fall Where They May."

The Broad Ax, while not over-useful for factual data, gives some valuable insight into the standards of behavior of the era. For instance, an important question of the day was "vice," and the Broad Ax often had items such as the indictment of "a famous and aristocratic club" for receiving into membership a man who ran a gambling game at the Keystone Hotel, stating that: ". . . . at the reception given by the club at their club rooms on New Years' Day (1903), the person referred to assisted in receiving the best Afro-American men and women in Chicago. . . . ."[109] The paper also attacked "vice blackening the vestments of the church,"[110] and kept up a running fire of criticism directed at a prominent preacher-politician who was accused of too frequent contact with the "Wet Holy Ghost."*

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*Many of these charges can perhaps be discounted when we realize that the Broad Ax was political and required frequent grinding. That Editor Taylor was not opposed to all ministers is indicated by Ralph Davis' statement that:

"In the midst of the attacks and accusations regarding the ministers, it is interesting to note an article in praise of the Clergy, in which the Broad Ax calls attention to a banquet in honor of the eloquent and popular pastor of the _____ Baptist Church."[111]

Politics

There was a lively interest in politics during these years, and Davis, commenting on the role of the churches, stated:

> During the period under discussion the Negro Churches served purposes other than religious worship. Entertainment and concerts were given in the churches. Along with the other purposes the churches were places of assembly for the political parties and sometimes the ministers in charge of the churches had some political affiliation, direct or indirect. This connection of the churches with politics was sometimes discussed in the Broad Ax. These discussions are revealing from the point of view and interpretation of the Broad Ax. On one occasion the paper stated, "the Rev. ___ came very near preaching himself out of his unclean shirt and breeches." The practice of holding political meetings in the churches was discussed in terms abusing the preacher and the Republicans. "The Negro race is the only race in the world to have their churches turned into political halls for faking preachers and the small-headed base White Republican politicians who contend that they can buy any 'Darkey preacher and a whole church full of Niggers for ten dollars.'"

The Appomatox Club also became an important political factor, as did the lodges. Gosnell, referring to their role, states:

> According to the available information, it appears that the Negroes who have been elected to public office are almost invariably members of one or more of these societies. The Elks, the Odd Fellows, the Masons, the Knights of Pythias, and the Foresters are the orders which the successful candidates most commonly list in their biographies. County Commissioner John Jones founded one of the Masonic lodges. State Representative Morris was the Grand Master of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, State Representative Kersey was Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias, State Representative Lucas was the State Grand Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Friendship, and Alderman Jackson was a Major General in the Uniform Rank of the Knights of Pythias. Alderman Jackson was especially noted for his activity in the fraternal orders.* He belonged to practically all of the secret societies and he was also the president of the Appomatox Club, an exclusive social orgainzation founded by County Commissioner E. H. Wright in 1900.[113]

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*He was an official of the Fraternal Press which printed laws and constitutions for lodges. In addition to being an Elk, a Knight of Pythias, an Odd Fellow, and a Mason, he belonged to at least fifteen other clubs.

The Broad Ax had a battery of headlines in November, 1914 indicating the role of churches and associations in the DePriest campaign:

HE IS INDORSED FOR THAT POSITION BY REV. E. J. FISHER, PASTOR OF OLIVET BAPTIST CHURCH AND THE CHICAGO COLORED BAPTIST CHURCHES

THE A.M.E. PREACHERS' UNION LOOK UPON HIM WITH FAVOR AND HAVE INDORSED HIS CANDIDACY

THE PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, PHARMACEUTICAL CLUB, THE HOTEL WAITERS' ASSOCIATION, THE CHICAGO COLORED BARBERS' ASSOCIATION ARE ALL ADVOCATING HIS NOMINATION FOR ALDERMAN[114]

At the turn of the century, Dan Jackson was nominated for County Commissioner by the Republicans but was defeated, partly because the white newspapers raised the race issue. Other Negroes began to try for jobs not heretofore held--Colonel Marshall for the County Board, Ferdinand Barnett for judge, Dr. George Cleveland Hall and Colonel Frank Dennison for County Commissioner--all of them lost. A fight for an alderman in 1914 was likewise unsuccessful. But although these "test-campaigns" came to nought, the Negro community made some important gains during the early part of this fifteen year period. Oscar DePriest served two terms as County Commissioner, to be succeeded by Frank Leland, another Negro. Dr. Alexander Lane was appointed assistant county physician, Adelbert Roberts became clerk of the newly created municipal court, and in addition to the traditional one state representative, the community became strong enough by 1914 to elect two. Yet, all in all, it was not until after the great migration that real po-

litical power came to the "Black Belt."*

The tie-up between "vice" and politics was very close, and the Vice influence of men like Dan Jackson and Bob Motts, both of whom "ran games," was felt as strongly in the Negro community as that of more affluent and more vicious "vice lords" in the larger community. The Broad Ax made frequent reference to vice conditions.

In critical vein without any abuse or accusations the vice conditions were discussed as "Dearborn Street Public Scandal." Emphasis was placed on the offensive and distressing conditions, and the ruin of young people, as viewed from the point of respectable people, the pastor of the Berean Baptist Church and the Broad Ax.[115] In subsequent issues of the Broad Ax direct statements were printed connecting ministers (who were attending a General Conference in Chicago) with participating in and increasing the business in "one of the leading houses in the Red Light District."[116]

A typical Broad Ax broadside follows:

REVS. _____, _____, AND _____ ARE INACTIVE
OR SLEEPING, WHILE VICE, CRIME, SINK-HOLES OF IN-
IQUITY AND SALOONS ARE FLOURISHING RIGHT
IN FRONT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE CHURCHES

_____, ATTORNEY FOR THE GAMBLER'S TRUST, MAY NEGOTIATE
A TWENTY YEAR LOAN ON _____ CHURCH

Admitting that this is the true mission of the church (i.e., for bettering of morals) what shall we say in relation to _____, _____, and _____ churches? Is not a fact that one saloon is running night and day on the corner of _____ and _____, which is within a few feet of _____? And can any member for old _____ come forward and honestly state or assert that its pastor, _____, has ever made the slightest effort to close it up? Those who attend or who belong to _____ know very well that the saloon is directly opposite the church. There is a city ordinance to the effect that no saloon or saloons shall be located within three hundred feet of any church or schoolhouse! Rev. _____ has never been heard raising his lordly voice in his pulpit in condemnation of the saloon.

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*"The period of seven years from 1908 to 1915 was one in which the political fortunes of the Negroes in Chicago advanced slowly. Republican factional quarrels, the Progressive split of 1912, Democratic victories in national, state, and local elections, and personal jealousies in the colored community retarded the development of Negro politics."[117]

> Rev. _____ at the present time does not seem to be opposed to having saloons so close to_____ that it is no trouble to hear the clinking of glasses and the cursing and swaring (sic) which floats out in the streets from them, while sitting in _____ for the saloon on the corner of _____ street is within less than one hundred feet of the door, and Bob Motts' notorious joint, where many young girls are led to the brink of ruin each year, is within 200 feet of _____, which seems to please Rev. _____, for quite frequently, while standing up in his pulpit, he refers to his friend Bob Motts in glowing terms.
>
> Motts is being boomed for the legislature so it is said by _____, attorney for the Gambler's Trust, and Deacon _____ is the attorney for _____, and if Motts should be selected to go to Springfield as one of the lawmakers, he would experience no trouble in being permitted to deliver political speeches in _____, if Motts would be unable to shout or pray unto the Lord, and paint or picture the beauty and the grandeur of the G. O'Lily White Party, of plunder and greed, he could inform the brothers and sisters as to the number of our seemingly promising young girls who have lost their virtue in his hell-hole of iniquity.[118]

The fight against vice begun in the nineties gathered strength in the early days of the century, and around 1909, community forces began to mobilize for a concerted attack on "segregated vice areas." In that year, "Gypsy" Smith, famous evangelist, led a march on the South Side vice area.

> Twelve thousand people it was estimated (though the estimate may well be cut in half), fell into line behind him as he strode along his glorious path, clad as for the pulpit. The marchers were somberly attired also. Long black gowns trailed in the mud. Black neckties were worn. From all throats issued the strains of "Nearer My God to Thee" and "Where is My Wandering Boy Tonight?"
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Gypsy led the crusaders to the Alhambra Theatre where he addressed them, and with his dark, shining face upturned, prayed for the souls of the fallen. The hour was late. Even as the evangelist prayed, the red lights were piercing the darkness again, dancing and music were resumed, corks popped in honor of the crusader. He told his audience, "This will do vast good. We have struck a blow for Jesus."[119]

But, Gypsy Smith's dramatic glow had to be implemented by political action and this was a slower, more tedious process. This orgainzed attack on vice was initiated by an Episcopal minister, Dean Sumner and the Chicago Federation of Churches, who asked Mayor Busse to appoint an investigating committee to survey the vice problem. A vice commission was appointed with Rev.

Sumner as chairman and such persons as W. I. Thomas, University of Chicago sociologist, and Julius Rosenwald upon it. It worked for a full year, and "the data were assembled at great pains and published in a volume as thick as an astronomy text-book."[120] No one was spared. Business men, politicians, apathetic community leaders, all came in for their share of blame.

> And there was one section which pointed forward to a mighty problem of later years. It described the establishment of vice-areas within or adjoining, the settlements of Chicago's growing population of Negroes. These poor and bewildered people were represented as about one jump ahead of the spreading line of red lights. It was shown that a great majority of the employees in resorts were black. And the children--1,475 boys and girls were counted in the Negro settlement, polluted by unsought contact with "the worst forms of bestiality."*
>
> What should be done about it all? Segregate or not? The Mayor, remarking, "These conditions are with us; to pretend they donot exist is hypocrisy," had called for a scientific study, and for recommendations as to the best method of control. So the fifteen men and women of commission gave them to him. They declared for a rigid suppression of the evil. Not only did they urge breaking up the segregated districts, but they called for an end of "protection," and an enforcement of the law, which was clear enough--$200 fine for each keeper, the same for each inmate, the same for anyone renting property for prostitution, the same for anyone found in a resort. The commission asked the establishment of a Morals Commission of five members to deal exclusively and intelligently with persons arrested under these ordinances.
>
> But before the slow wheels of city legislation could turn, one four year mayor had gone out. . . . and another of the opposite party, had come in.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Chicago's open brothels, so powerful a factor in its reputation from the first, were beginning to go. In 1911 the Mayor closed the

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*The Crisis, organ of the militant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, published an article in 1912 criticizing Booker T. Washington for implying that it was the Negroes' "duty" to eradicate vice in their areas of the city:

> ". . . . a good deal of the vice in the 'colored belt' is white man's vice, thrust there by the authorities against the protest of the colored people. But the thing runs deeper than that. Vice and crime are in large measure the result of idleness, of irregular employment, and even of regular employment that is underpaid and exhaustive. It would be fatuous for the white community to deny its responsibility, in very large measure, for the economic conditions under which thousands of Negro men and women struggle right here in Chicago."[121]

Everleigh Club, the most elegant and infamous bawdy house of Twenty-second Street and probably of the whole world as well. . . . . The Arena Hotel too disappeared. . . . . Other "houses" somewhat less notorious across the world winked out as Chicago cleansed its name. The major work however was yet to come. The Autumn of 1912, the Vice Report having been doing its propaganda work for more than a year, found Wayman* in a quarrel with a good many of the people who had thought him a white hope. He was seeking a renomination, and his actions were puzzling indeed. . . . . A storm came down upon his head. Part of it came from the Committee of Fifteen. . . . . Now they made it hot for Wayman. . . . . It was a sultry summer for Wayman, nor was it improved by the fact that Virginia Brooks, a young woman leading a crusade in a tough southeastern corner of the county, was calling him names that hurt. . . . . Wayman, harassed, bristling from a colloquy with Chief Justice Olson. . . . threatened by a special grand jury, compelled to withdraw from a fight for renomination, and peeved at the millionaire committee, ... suddenly swore out warrants in the municipal court for a hundred and thirty-five dive-keepers, owners, and agents of property. There followed, at once, the most spectacular raids ever seen in Chicago's Levee. Battalions of detectives invaded the districts, especially on the South Side, where the most powerful resort owners reigned. Keepers and inmates were jammed into patrol wagons, except when favored ones--among them a giant Negress named Black Mag--were allowed to ride to the police stations in their own shiny autos. A terrific clamor and a midnight orgy filled the streets; "good folks" who watched it looked on in dismay. Curiosity seekers parked their cars near enough to see the grinning or weeping sinners being herded into Black Marias. Gangs of young men rushed up and down the streets breaking into empty houses or cracking the doors of places that had just put out their lights. The boom of Salvation Army drums, the gleam of their banners under flickering lights, amid the yelping crowds, added a strange touch to that Hogarthian night picture.

Next day, the quite will behaved Chicagoan had another shock to his feelings. From some central headquarters of the under world went out an order to the "slaves" like this:

"Get on your loudest clothes and more paint than usual and parade the streets."

"Go to the residence districts, ring every door bell; apply for lodgings."

"Get rooms only in respectable neighborhoods."

. . . . . .

Not one was taken in; but on the other hand, when lodgings were offered by committees hastily formed, scarcely one would accept the invitation.

. . . . . .

The vicelords watched the turmoil unperturbed, with sneers. They filed bonds and waited.

. . . . . .

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*Wayman was prosecuting attorney.

Barrat O'Hara, lieutenant governor under Dunne (the former mayor, now head of the state) headed another body which investigated vice and low wages together. A decided change in wages of women resulted; unions of department store employees were formed.

The Morals Court recommended by the Sumner group was established in the spring of 1913 and heard some five thousand cases in a year.

. . . . . .

In 1915 Harrison named the Morals Commission. Confronted by the Committee of Fifteen with list after list of owners of resort-property, he gave the migrant resort owners little rest. As his term drew to a close, it seemed that he discerned a change in public sentiment since the '80's, a revulsion against restricted vice districts under police supervision, and he declared, "Chicago is through with the segregated vice idea."

. . . . . .

And all this time the city grew larger, more generous, more favored of the Gods, more stately.[122]

The Broad Ax carried an article in 1907 dealing with the effect of extending the area of segregated vice. It showed a keen awareness of the ecological processes at work on the South-Side:

THE SEGREGATION OF VICE

AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE RESIDENTIAL AND RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF THE NEGROES ON THE SOUTH SIDE BY REV. W. S. BRADDEN PASTOR OF BEREAN BAPTIST CHURCH

Within the last fortnight Chief of Police Shippey has issued his first "Official Bull" to the effect that vice on the South Side must be segregated, and to assure the import of this edict, he has turned the 22nd Street Police District upside down, changing the personnel of that famous or infamous district from the captain down to the one-eyed Maltese cat.

The new officials are to constitute the water gate of the "Dike" beyond which the surging pool of vice may not pass.

According to the "Bull" referred to, the boundary lines of the new Red Light district will embrace Wabash Avenue, on the east, 18th on the north, Clark on the west and 22nd on the south. To my mind, or to the mind of any one who has taken the time to study the under element of the South Side, this boundary is wholly inadequate and it will be only a comparatively short time, say two or three years before the boundary will be broadened out until it embraces Wabash Avenue, on the east, Clark on the west, 18th on the north and 30th on the south.

I make this tentative boundary because of the fact that Rev. Johnston Myers and his crusaders, has slowly but persistently pushed and shoved the "red lights" until they have all but disappeared from that district lying east of Wabash.

I am a firm believer in the segregation of vice, but a blind man can see the method in the madness of Dr. Myers, and his modern crusa-

ders, i.e., his church is located on the corner or near 22nd and Michigan Avenue, and no one knows better than he does that his fight to keep the "red light" from the said district was a matter of the survival of the fittest.

For unless he could succeed in pushing the boundary lines of vice beyond his bailiwick it would result in a large exodus of his parishioners to a locality less honeycombed with dance halls, brothels and saloons, hence his struggle, for with the exodus of his ultra fashionable parishioners, his meeting house would become deserted and the field so long ago pre-empted and sustained so well and at such a sacrifice, would come to naught. So like Ajax of old, "All through the long and bitter night, the prayer of this learned divine was for light to see his foeman's fall." And when he did, he gave them no quarters until he has succeeded in driving these unfortunates to the very doors of Quinn Chapel, the Olivet Baptist and Bethel churches.

While this segregation of vice does not affect the Rev. Myers in the same way as it does the churches referred to, it nevertheless, has a direct bearing upon his work.

All religious workers must sooner or later awake to the fact that the present and ultimate boundary lines of the Red Light district has and will completely change (to coin a phrase), the religious geography of the South Side; this is especially true as far as the Negro churches are concerned.

Hitherto the strategical points of religious operation amongst the Negroes have been occupied by Quinn Chapel, Olivet and Bethel churches. But with the segregation of vice in the present and future districts referred to it will only be a matter of time before the churches mentioned will be forced to abandon their present fields. As they were forced to leave old Fourth avenue and Harmon Court, because of the exodus of their worshippers from such close proximity with vice and crime, for the Negro, like the whites, does not care for his wife and daughter to elbow the Red Light denizens.

Now 'tis very patent that this shift will completely change the religious geographical complexion, as well as the residence, of the Negro on the South Side, as the moving of the aforesaid churches from their former fields did years ago.

What district on the South Side is to constitute the future residence and necessarily the religious ganglionic centre?

Every year notes the Negroes moving south of 39th street and east of State street as far south as Sixty-fourth and east, as far as Vincennes avenue.

St. Thomas church, and Bethesda Baptist, if their present plans do not miscarry, will hold the keys to the religious problem east of State street, because of the vast number of Negro residents on Wabash, Vernon, Rhodes, Calumet, Langley and Vincennes avenues.

Now the housing and spiritual ministration of this increasing number of people who are moving south of the Red Light district will devolve largely upon those churches, already on the field, occupying strategic positions in the midst of the future Black Belt.

The Berean Baptist church, located at 4338 Dearborn street, has already felt the effect of this influx and finds that its present

facilities are inadequate to handle its every growing congregation.

One year hence it will have outgrown its present quarters. Now it's left with the people who are purchasing homes and moving south of 39th street to say whether or not we shall be prepared within the next eighteen months or two years, to meet the exigency brought to our very doors.[123]

The break-up of the segregated area, however, did not entirely remove either the reality or stigma of "vice" from the Negro community with its low rent districts and a police force not over zealous about its "duties." But there was no evidence of a large scale ring dealing in prostitution, and as the years passed, gambling became far more important as a community problem than organized prostitution.

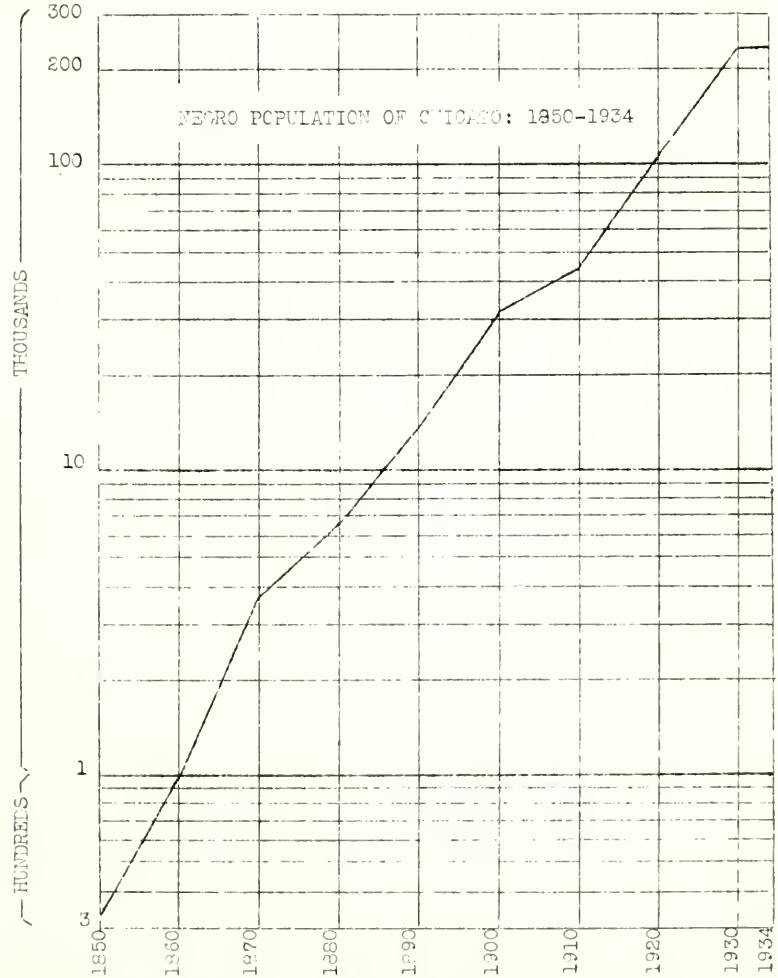
Chicago "On the Eve"

In 1910, there were 44,103 Negroes in Chicago. They were only 2 per cent of the total population--a mere drop in Chicago's bucket of 2,185,283 persons. The rate of increase had slowed up after the World's Fair. Lewis and Smith, commenting on the great influx of "dark people" after 1900, stated that:

> The "Nordics" had by no means ceased to come; indeed the newly arrived Scandinavian people were almost as numerous as the Italians, while those listed from Germany were more than double the Greek population. Still the current was growing brunette, and had in it, too, the ebony streak of Negroes--14,000 of them, whose movement from the South to the North would, though, hardly yet started, seem someday more startling than any.[124]

The rate of migration did not increase appreciably between 1910 and 1914, but between 1914 and 1920, migration was so heavy that the census of 1920 found 109,458 Negroes--an increase of 148.2 per cent. The increase in whites was only 20.4 per cent. The growth of the Negro community up to this point had been gradual and the newcomers had been accommodated into

the spatial and social order of the city in much the same fashion as the immigrants from Europe, except that the stigma of a recent slavery and the weight of racial prejudice had slowed up the process considerably. The following graph indicates the growth of the Negro community:



The concern of this summary is to give some picture of the Negro community on the eve of the great influx, when the sudden introduction of thousands

of Negroes from the South began to modify the slowly changing social structure giving rise on one hand to a series of "problems," and on the other hand serving as the base for the development of the Negro community as it exists today--with its potentialities for development.

Occupational Differentiation[125]

Estelle Hill Scott's study of "Occupational Changes Among Negroes in Chicago" reveals that during this period:

> . . . . the proportions of Negro workers who were employed as semi-skilled workers, as skilled craftsmen, in clerical positions and in proprietary positions* increased, as well as did the servant classes. . . . .[125]

There were, in 1910, 962 professional persons, however:

> According to the census, Negro physicians had increased from 45 to 109 (less than 50 of these were listed in the American Medical Directory, however), clergymen from 63 to 76. . . . .[126]

The number of lawyers and school teachers had decreased, the former from 46 to 44, the latter from 20 to 11. The number of women had increased in every professional category. The most significant thing about these "professional" people, however, was that the largest single group was made up of "musicians and music teachers."

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*One informant reports that:

"The first Negro department store, conducted in the city of Chicago was opened at 2918 South State Street in 1905. This came as the outgrowth of the efforts put forth by Sandy W. Trice and Frank Williams, who five years previous to this time, had conducted a lucrative and well appointed haberdashery business at the same address under the firm of Trice and Williams. The department store was organized by Trice as president, Rev. A. J. Carey as treasurer, and attorney Walter H. Farner as legal advisor. The Board of Directors consisted of ex-congressman George W. Murray, John Scott, later lieutenant of Police, Edward Henderson, A. Watson and James Lee.

"Under the conduct and supervision of these men this institution became a successful business enterprise in the community.[127]

The professionals were as follows:

Occupation	Men	Women	Total
Musicians	216	136	352
Physicians	109	25	134
Actors	78	54	132
Clergymen	76	...	76
Teachers	11	53	64
Lawyers	44	...	44
Artists	15	13	28
Showmen	30	...	30
Nurses	...	42	42
Photographers	16	...	16
Dentists	14	...	14
Editors and reporters	10	...	10
Chemists	9	...	9
Civil Engineers	5	...	5
Architects	1	...	1
Designers	1	...	1
Draftsmen	1	...	1
	636	323	959

There were thus less than a thousand persons classified as professionals in 1910, and of these such groups as showmen, artists, musicians, and actors can hardly be called professional in any sense which takes into consideration the amount of training and prestige usually associated with these positions in the Negro community. It was not possible, therefore, for rigid lines of social class to be drawn on the basis of professional status.

The increasing population and the rapid occupational differentiation laid the base for a more elaborate church and associational structure, and by 1914, a definite system of associational and church life had arisen, closely related to a simple "class" structure. There were certain large associational groupings that by now had become accepted as stable portions of the community structure.

Churches

By 1912, all of the major denominations were represented in the Chicago Negro community.* Denominations listed in the Chicago Defender in that year being as follows:**

Denomination	No. of Churches
Baptist	9
African Methodist Episcopal	8
Presbyterian	2
Methodist Episcopal	2
Colored Methodist Episcopal	2
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	1
Congregational	1
Episcopalian	1
Catholic	1
Christian	1

There had been a steady growth since 1900.

One significant addition to the church life of Chicago during the decade was the founding of the Institutional A.M.E. Church in 1900, at 3835 Dearborn Street by Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom.[128] In the same year, a small A.M.E. church was founded at Fifty-sixth and Harper where there were a few Negroes living in a white neighborhood.[129]*** The A.M.E. church also fell heir in 1914 to a church founded two years before as a C.M.E. group and which later changed its affiliation.[130]

In the fall of 1914, a Defender headline read:

BETHEL ONLY A.M.E. CHURCH IN THE CITY FREE FROM DEBT

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*Fisher attributed the increase in churches during this era to "the increasing Negro population and the assertion of independence on the part of the people occasioned by the lack of a strong dynamic leadership."[131]

**In 1919 there were 20 Holiness Churches. Since the Church of God and Saints of Christ and the Church of the Living God had been organized by 1900, it is reasonable to suppose that some holiness storefront or house churches were in existence at the time. The researchers have not been able to identify them, however, and no informants seem to remember any such churches before 1914.

***It is interesting to note that this "Hyde Park A.M.E. Church" is now located in a store front on State Street, although it retains the same name.

and informed the public that they had just burned a 42 year old mortgage, the pastor commenting as follows:

> We have paid every penny we owe to anyone as well as both the principle and interest on the church, and kept up current expenses. We have given to charity during the year $1,300. We have raised for the connection, $15,000; we have put one person in the old folks home and paid $100.00. We have taken care of the sick and buried those who died, and had nothing. We have provided for those who have been out of work.[132]

The size of Bethel's celebration might be gauged by the fact that 25 gallons of ice cream was served.

The same year* that the A.M.E. Church instituted its progressive program as Institutional, nine Olivet members received their letters of dismission and formed the Berean Baptist Church now located at Fifty-second and Dearborn.[133] In 1902, another small group left Olivet** and began to worship in a hall.[134] They soon bought a piece of property, however, at Thirty-fifth and Dearborn and remained there for eighteen years, afterwards

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*Two years later, the president of the Baptist Ministers and Deacons Union, stated at the annual meeting that:

"There seems to be contagion of church building in and around Chicago. Our Bishops are vieing with each other, not wrongfully, but in a pleasant spirit in the erection on houses of worship. God help the work of Shiloh, Second Evanston, Harmon, Bethesda, Berean, Mt. Carmel, First Lake Forest, Chicago Heights, Second Harvey, Providence, Friendship, Mt. Zion, Evanston, Hinsdale."[135]

**The Wood River Baptist Association passed a resolution bearing on Olivet's troubles as follows:

"We deplore very deeply the seeming sad condition of the Olivet Church and pray that a speedy relief may soon come to their rescue and their troubles be banished."[136]

In 1908 the association itself was faced with a split. ". . . . a committee of seven was appointed to meet at Olivet and see what steps could be taken to prevent the organization of another association. The committee were completely turned down. . . . ."[137]

moving to their present site. A colorful account of this schism is given by a Baptist historian:

> Bought and built at 27th and Dearborn Streets. Contractor and Deacons and Building Committee fell out over bill of extras. Church moved out, went to hall at 31st and Indiana. . . . . A committee was appointed. . . . . They immediately procured an old church house at 35th and Dearborn Streets, and set sail and marched in. It was a grand sight to see "Pap" (affectionate name for the pastor) heading that mighty procession riding a fine and noble looking white horse with Bob Berry's Brass Band. . . . . A mighty day in Zion!
>
> After some years they numbered their membership. They counted the cost. They found that they were able to rise. So they turned their eyes eastward (1920) and viewed a Jews' tabernacle, 45th and Vincennes Avenue. Pap Thomas pointed east, and the people had a mind to work and they obeyed his order to march over there.[138]

Associations

The National Federation of Women's Clubs had been founded in 1895[139] and with Mrs. Booker T. Washington as its president had spread all over the United States. In 1897, seven Chicago clubs organized the Women's Conference in order to entertain the National body and later organized the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. The more serious minded and stable women, interested in charity and racial advancement were members. In the fall of 1914, the City Federation held its Quarterly Meeting at Quinn Chapel.[140] Delegates returning from the National Federation convention made their reports; the Federation decided to join the United Charities of Chicago; and stated that "The Federation was glad to learn of many young men of the race who had entered into business and promised to support them."

While Mrs. Washington's group was busy organizing the women, Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League was attempting to encourage Negroes to enter the business world. In 1912, the League met in Chicago, and was reported in one journal as follows:

In Chicago, the National Negro Business League held its thirteenth

> annual session with a very large attendance. This session was held at the Institutional Church, and Julius Rosenwald was among the speakers. The next meeting will be in Philadelphia in August, 1913. Mr. Booker T. Washington was elected president; Mr. Charles Banks, first vice-president; the Honorable J. C. Napier, chairman of the executive committee. The interest of the newspapers was largely centered on the reports of rich colored men. E. W. Green of Fayette, Miss., said he was worth $80,000; David Nelson of Little Rock, Ark., $50,000; Watt Terry reported an income of $7,000 a month from $500,000 worth of real estate.[141]

Evidently Dr. Washington stressed, as was his wont, the Negro's responsibility for his own advancement, for The Chicago Evening Post, commenting on the event said:

> While it is a very useful thing to have Mr. Washington preaching free will and full responsibility to the colored people, it would be a very great mistake for the white community to regard this as the last word on the subject. For it is not true in any sense whatever that the colored community is wholly and entirely responsible for the vice and crime which appear now and then in its midst.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But these are disagreeable truths and we all shirk them when we can. If Dr. Washington rather encourages us to shirk them by putting the emphasis where he does, there is another great leader of the colored people who does not. Professor W. E. B. DuBois in his books and his journal, THE CRISIS, holds up courageously, month in and month out, the other side - our side - of the picture. Forcefully and yet with a quiet reserve which is granted to few polemicists, Dr. DuBois thrusts home upon the conscience of the American people the conscience that the colored problem cannot be solved by the colored man alone.[142]

Interestingly enough, the Chicago middle and upper classes did not seem to be caught on the horns of the DuBois-Washington dilemma, and supported a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People branch* as well as the Business League, while the same people who entertained Mr. Washington when he visited entertained Mr. DuBois. In the summer of 1914,

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*A note in the minutes of the Women's District Convention (Baptist) indicates that the N.A.A.C.P. also tried to interest the church people:

"Mrs. Sarah Brown, member of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and agent for "Crisis" in Illinois made a fine address covering the scope of usefulness into which so many of the Baptist "women are coming."[143]

the N.A.A.C.P. gave a carnival at thirty-sixth and Wabash, at which the Eighth Regiment Band played and from which "five or six hundred persons were turned away." Eight clubs were mentioned as co-operating (see pp. 127-128), and at the meeting ". . . . pleasure was succeeded by serious speech wherein stalwart advocates of right, justice, and equal opportunity told of the associational work."* As a feature of the carnival, a diamond ring was presented to the most popular girl.**[144]

In the summer of 1914 the Defender ran as a banner headline:

MASONS CONVENE AND HAVE LIVELY WEEK IN CHICAGO[145]

In the fall of the same year, the Ancient United Knights and Daughters of Africa, organized in 1905, and devoted to "uplift of Race*** and reciprocity among members" held its national convention at the Institutional A.M.E. Church. The Defender spoke of the order as "doing great work in caring for the sick and burying the dead." The order boasted of six thousand members scattered through fifteen states, and of $12,500 in the bank and $17,525 paid out in death claims.[146]

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*One minister took the position at a meeting, however, that Negroes should be less lawless, and stressed the need for "constructive work," inferring that the N.A.A.C.P. was doing the opposite.[148]

**It is of interest to note that 1914's most popular girl was in 1939 the leader of the largest organization in the Negro community, the Council of Negro Organizations and has been president of the Federation of Women's Clubs--Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines.

***The Daughters of Tabor, another strong "society" in Chicago, was explicit as to what it meant by "uplift":[147]

1. Encouragement of Christianity
2. Education
3. Morality
4. Temperance
5. High ideals of manhood and womanhood
6. Getting of homes and acquiring wealth
7. Recognition of greatness, goodness, and mercy of God

In 1914, on the eve of the great migration, the following clubs and societies were among the more active in the community.[149]

Association	Cooperative Action	Remarks
SOCIAL CLUBS		
Afternoon Pleasure Club		
Junior League Social Club		
The Jolly Twenty Club		
The Mystic Social Club		
Chicago Syndicate Club		Dancing club.
Appomatox Club	N.A.A.C.P.	Male-high prestige.
Phalanx Club	N.A.A.C.P.	Post Office men.
Half Century Club		High prestige
EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL		
Bethel A.M.E. Literary Club		
Standard Literary Club of Olivet		
Eureka Fine Art Club		
Choral Study Club		
Young Matron's Culture Club	N.A.A.C.P.	
Coleridge Taylor Club	N.A.A.C.P.	
Chicago Armstrong League of Hampton Students		
CIVIC CLUBS		
Men's Civic Club		"Some of the most intelligent men in city."
Civic Protective League	N.A.A.C.P.	
Alpha Suffrage Club		
The Progressive League		
WOMEN'S CLUBS AND CHARITY CLUBS		
Giles Charity Club		
Chicago Union Charity Club		
Volunteer Worker's Charity Club		
North Side Women's Club		
Ida B. Wells Women's Club	O.G.H.	
Fred Douglass Center Women's Club		
Cornell Charity Club	O.F.H.	

Association	Cooperative Action	Remarks
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS		
Chicago Dental Club	N.A.A.C.P.	
PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATIONS		
Eighth Regiment Band	N.A.A.C.P.	
MISCELLANEOUS		
Euterpian Club		
Phyllis Wheatley Girls		
Chevalier Club		
Sawolka Club		
Poinsetta Club		
Colonial Club		
Pandora Club	N.A.A.C.P.	
Entre Nous Club		
Epsilon Delta Pi		
Epsilon Sigma Kappa		
Matrimony Club		

An examination of the available issues of the Chicago Defender for 1908, 1910, 1912 gives a sampling of associational behavior and church activities during this period:

Date	Activity (all items appeared on front page)
9-5-08	Mrs. Goggins of Working Girls Home in Grand Rapids, Michigan, spoke at Ebenezer, Zion, and to Rev. Wood's congregation in Englewood. She teaches hairdressing and massaging. - - - - - - Ebenezer arranged for excursion of Baptists to Louisville, Ky., for National Convention. - - - - - - Mention of Walters A.M.E. Zion Church
9-12-08	Rev. H. E. Stewart to preach "great sermon," "Has the Negro Any Reason to Expect Special Favors from God?" - - - - - - Mention of National Women's Club.

Date	Activity (all items appeared on front page)
9-17-08	Hope Presbyterian concert a huge success - - - - - - Masonic lodges dedicate a building - - - - - - Rev. Stewart preaches Elks annual sermon; Junior Choir sings - - - - - - Standard club elects officers
11-14-08	Secretary of Lady Elks breaks leg skating
11-21-08	"Manassah Ball a Great Success"; 1,500 persons present--grand march Eighth Regiment Orchestra; "Everyone waiting for next one."* - - - - - - Triangle Inner Circle Club giving New Year's Ball for Old Folks' Home - - - - - - "The Peerless Club Live Up to Their Name"--gave a real first class ball - - - - - - Afro-American Historical Society organized among Grace Presbyterian Sunday School Men by Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, presenting Professor R. T. Greener, first colored graduate of Harvard University. "The learned gentleman lectured informally on the race-pride he had noticed in all others but the Afro-American. He deplored the lack of unification among our people and decried the time when we would be entirely undone without it. His remarks were as manna to the Children of Israel and we are glad to know that Professor Greener kindly consented to come to our meetings to assist us in our feeble incipient attempts to secure "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" which we are entitled to by virtue of having fought side by side with the Caucasian to preserve the Constitution of which liberty is the watch-word."

*See page 134 for significance of this event.

Date	Activity (all items appeared on front page)
12-26-08	Chicago "Lady Elk" commissioned to set up lodges in the South - - - - - - LADY ELLIOT CIRCLE, 199, A.D. OF FORRESTERS ELECT NEW OFFICERS --A Few Black Balls Thrown Through the Air, That's All-- --Now There is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth-- - - - - - - (A chatty informal article stating, "The order has done much good during the year and besides a neat bank account, they have administered to their sick and needy and have established a record of standing for high morals.") - - - - - - Large picture of Quinn Chapel - - - - - - THE GRAND LADS CLUB GIVES A SOCIAL--"recently organized by a number of musical gents." Gave a social to defray expenses of two men going to Hot Springs. - - - - - - Choral Study Group announces Sullivan's oratorio, The Prodigal Son to be given at Institutional Church - - - - - - The Basketball League announces games for 1909 - - - - - - _____* CLUB AT LAST--a club of popular young married ladies, no member to have been married over three years. Oldest member 25 years of age. Meet every Thursday to sew and lunch. Entertained husbands New Years, 2:30-5:30 A.M. - - - - - - "The Triangle Inner Club intend giving the Old Folks' Home a New Year's present and to make it worthwhile they have combined charity with pleasure." Plan to hold dance at 1st Regiment Armory, 6th and Michigan, 50¢ admission. Proceeds for "those dear old folks at 610 Garfield Boulevard." Clubs cooperating in ticket sales were: Cornell Charity — Des Jeunes Aspirants I.B.Wells Women's Club — Grendenborg Club Centennial Club — Nogales Club

*Paper too badly torn to distinguish name.

Among the banner headlines in the Defender for the period 1910-1912 were the following ones dealing with associations and their activities:

Nov. 5-10 BIG COLISEUM XMAS NIGHT BALL - First Regiment Uniform Rank K of P.

Nov. 12-10 "

Dec. 17-10 "

Nov. 19-10 White Southern Editor Praises True R Corners for the Good They Have Done in Past Decade in the Uplift of the Race.

Apr. 20-12 Pythian May Ball First Regiment Uniform Rank Coliseum Annex, Monday Evening, May 6.

July 6-12 Danville Prepares for Knights.

Patriotic Groups

Feb. 12-10 The 8th Regiment Ball, Monday Night

May 21-10 Eighth Infantry Illinois National Guard - The Pride of Chicago Will be Honored for Faithfulness.

May 25-12 Dead Comrades Honored in Memorial Services - 8th Armory.

Cultural Associations

May 7-10 Umbrian Glee Club's Big Concert Makes Great Hit.

Group Work Agencies

Aug. 3-12 Corner Stone of Y.M.C.A. Building Laid Sunday

Church

Sept. 7-12 Grace Presbyterian S. S. Basketball Team Wins South Side Pennant.

Charity Balls, etc.

Nov. 14-10 Look Out for the Great Charity Ball on New Years.

Jan. 1-10 Charity Benefit 7th Regiment Armory New Years Evening.

May 25-12 Grand August Carnival and Fair on State Street.

Aug. 17-12 State Street Carnival Opens Tonight.

Aug. 31-12 Miss Mattie Holliday Crowned Queen of State Street.

Summary

The post-Civil War period, which, in the South was characterized by the development or the share-cropping system, and the forcible redefinition of the Negro's status in terms of a caste-system* with legal sanctions, was characterized in the mid-west by an intense industrial development. First came German, Irish and Scandinavian labor; and later, Italian, Polish and Russian workers. During this period there was a strenuous fight on the part of the articulate section of the Negro population to secure full rights as citizens.

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*"Caste," as used here, refers to a system of social relations in which "upper" and "lower" groups are recognized in the society; in which persons cannot rise from the "lower" into the "higher" group by any socially approved means, and in which intermarriage between the groups is definitely prohibited. This is substantially the definition given currency by Professor W. Lloyd Warner (see article, "American Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology, September 1936) of The University of Chicago, who has been largely responsible for sharpening the concept. This article distinguishes between a caste system as defined above, and a class system where mobility is allowed and marriages are not prohibited.

It emphasizes the fact that the American caste system is unique in that each caste has classes within it. The term, caste, has been very loosely used in both scientific and popular literature, although McIver and Donald Young made significant attempts to clarify the concepts. Young applied the terms specifically to Negro-white relations in America.

In 1933 and 1934, Professor Allison Davis and Dr. Burleigh Gardiner, students of Professor Warner, made a detailed field study in a southern community, using these concepts for analysis. Sections of the study were presented at the Swarthmore Institute of Race Relations in 1935, and the concepts were also used by Buford Junker in 1934, in writing up his field notes on Houston County, Georgia, for the "Rosenwald Exploration" of the southern educational system.

During the interim between the Davis-Gardiner field work and the publication of the study, three other students of southern life published the following works using a caste-class framework:

Charles S. Johnson, "Conflict of Caste and Class in American Industry," American Journal of Sociology, July, 1936.

From 1865 to 1900, Negroes in Chicago were predominantly personal and domestic servants, though the first outlines of a differentiated occupational structure had taken form by 1914 and a sizeable professional and business class was in existence.

With a growing population, the social organization became more complex and in Chicago, as a part of the national Negro community, organizations whose centers of dominance were in the East and South began to make their appearance. Indigenous organizations also arose.

Between 1865 and 1910, while the caste system was taking form in the deep South, a system of Negro-white relations was developing in Chicago which was definitely "bi-racial," but in which the status of the Negro tended to approximate that of European immigrants rather than that of caste-bound Southern Negroes. In the political world, Negroes participated freely and Negro politicians were prominent in civic affairs. In the economic life of the city, Negroes found it somewhat more difficult to rise,

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John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, 1937.
Buell Gallagher, American Caste and the Negro College, 1938.
The most recent definitive statement of the caste-class conceptual scheme as applied to the Southern United States is Warner and Davis' "A Comparative Study of American Caste" in Race Relations and the Race Problem, ed. by Edgar T. Thompson.

Horace R. Cayton, as a result of empirical researches which he directed in Chicago, suggests that while the term may be applicable to certain areas of the South, it does not adequately describe the system of Negro-white relations in Chicago. The competition of the city and the forces of secularization and industrialization, as well as the absence of a slave tradition are factors which have produced the present system there. Cayton suggests, further, that because the term "caste" is so intimately associated with the "sacred" system of India, with ritual pollution and extreme taboos, it might clarify the analysis of American social systems to eliminate it altogether, viewing the societies in terms of two general organizing principles, free competition and lack of competition, applying the concepts to ecology, economic, political and social life. Social systems could then be arranged on a continuum from a pole where all people are allowed to compete freely for all values to one where no social competition is allowed and status is assigned by birth. At one extreme social competi-

but were by no means confined to the bottom level of the occupational hierarchy. They were guaranteed equality before the law and full civil liberties. And in one of the most crucial aspects of "caste," - intermarriage - interracial unions, though not the rule, were sanctioned legally, and enough of them were consummated to allow the establishment of a group like the Manassah Club, a fraternal organization of mixed couples.

This club has a dual significance, however, for on one hand, the Chicago society was not so rigid that intermarriages were taboo, yet, on the other hand, such couples were sufficiently "alien" to both the Negro and white communities as to make it desirable to organize among themselves for mutual aid and recreation.*

Throughout the South, however, the Negroes' social position was to a large extent being "fixed," and attempts to change it were compelled to proceed by oblique means, paying a measure of deference to the caste system, and not attacking the fundamental taboos of the society, "social intercourse" and "intermarriage."

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tion would be determined by free competition, at the other, by fixed status.

*Discussions of intermarriage occasionally appeared in local papers during the eighties and nineties. On June 9th, 1890, the Tribune carried a long article on "Colored Society in Boston - An Exclusive article bearing a Boston date-line stated that there was considerable concern over "the rapid increase of intermarriages between white and black people exhibited by the census records for the last few years in the northern states," and cited the most frequent objection as being that "they are nearly always productive of unhappy results." It described, perhaps with over-emphasis, a system in which Negroes "who are partly white form a caste by themselves" which was very hard to penetrate by "new" mulattoes. Whites "shut them out" entirely. They then concluded that "the Negro is much better off in Europe than he is here . . . . his chances for success in life, matrimonially and otherwise, are about as good as the white man's." On another occasion the same paper mentioned the case of a Southern white woman who refused to dance with a prominent black Brazilian and was embarrassed. The paper was critical of her action.

Booker Washington made his famous Atlanta Exposition speech, often called the "Atlanta Compromise," in which he intimated that Negroes were interested in neither social nor political equality, and would remain aloof from labor struggles. This, coupled with his emphasis on industrial education and the development of Negro business and agriculture, became the prevailing social doctrine of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Opposed only by a small group of intellectuals led by W. E. B. DuBois, and Monroe Trotter, it became the dominant belief of the rapidly developing Negro middle class in the South and with modifications in respect to political activity, also became the "creed" of the northern middle class.

The attitude of the N. A. A. C. P. - DuBois - Crisis school is expressed in this note from a 1912 issue of The Crisis:

> The Chicago Public also declares that the advocates of protest and higher training among colored people see that the Negro cannot gain anything more than a material and partial victory by becoming more and more self-sufficing. Two camps of self-sufficing and self-regarding peoples will never constitute a democracy. Every white advance in the conception of social justice must be shared with the Negro. The Negro who is graduated from a college must not be allowed to take Dr. Washington's advice to go South and start a brickyard, if he has academic abilities that can be employed in other and more ideally fruitful ways. The white unions, for instance, must cease their suicidal and immoral policy of discouraging or excluding Negro members. The Negroes must not meet such exclusion with a self-sufficient "Well, I shall achieve in some other way." They must insist on achieving in that particular - by insisting on admission to every union that claims to be labor.
>
> To achieve the proper solution of this problem, in short, simply means that whites as well as Negroes shall be guided by ideals as well as by opportunism, shall have the courage of their lip service to spiritual realities, shall either admit that they do not believe in democracy at all but only in the struggle for existence, or else pursue their achievement of democracy in the only way possible, by the frank recognition of and action upon the spiritual implications of democracy and self-consciousness.[150]

Negroes in Chicago, however, were not entirely "free" and were subject to many disabilities whose roots were to be found partially in the

imported Southern tradition, and partially in the economic conflicts between the Negro community and other low income groups. Such conflicts were particularly strong between the Negroes and the Irish and riots were occasionally precipitated when these two groups clashed.[151] The disabilities took the form of attempts to place Negro children in separate schools and of attempts to restrict residential areas, but no attacks upon the right to vote were made after Negroes were guaranteed the suffrage in Illinois in the sixties.

The important difference between Chicago and the South (or between a "caste-system" and the Chicago system of Negro-white relationships) lay in the opportunity which Negroes had to appeal to the patriotic, religious, and democratic ideals to organize their forces against any crystallization of their subordinate status into a caste-system and to secure significant advances in the political and economic hierarchy. The traditions of the culture did not sanction the hereditary fixing of social status, occupational restriction, legal disfranchment, or even enforced endogamy as in the South.*

The mass migration which began in 1916 represented the transfer of a large population from participation in a caste-system** to participation

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*Mary Elaine Ogden and Horace R. Cayton suggest that "Race antagonisms in the South arise out of the social order of the South while race antagonisms in the North, at least in the beginning of contact between Negroes and whites, are the spontaneous reaction to strangeness, modified, it is true, by the infiltration of the southern tradition."[152]

**That the migration had this meaning to the migrant is proved by "caste-infraction," ranging from visiting white prostitutes to riding in the front of the street car; and expressions such as the following: "Feel like a man here. Same as slavery, in a way, at home." "Feel more freedom. Was not counted in the South; colored people allowed no freedom at all in the South." "Can vote; no lynching; no fear of mobs; can express my opinion and defend myself." "Good city for colored people."[153]

in a social order characterized by greater social mobility, less economic subordination, and a system of ideas which did not sanction the "fixing" of the Negroes' status. Such a system reconditioned them, and they, in turn, modified it.

THE MIGRATION EPOCH
1915-1930

The epoch from 1915 to 1930 was characterized by the marked migratory movement of Negroes in the United States. It consisted of the general movement of members of the Negro population from the rural South; to the urban North . . . . the migratory movement brought changes in the attitude of the whites toward the Negro in the South; created or aggravated problems of health, recreation, and housing in the cities; and introduced new problems for skilled and unskilled labor in the entire country, but especially in the large northern cities.

/Mays and Nicholson, The Negro's Church pp. 33-34/

The fifteen years from 1914 to 1929 are extremely important in the social history of the Chicago Negro community. When the pistol shot at Sarajevo shattered the fragile "peace" of Europe, Chicago had a Negro population of about forty-five thousand persons. When the pens of Versailles had finished writing the prospectus for the Second World War, there were over one hundred thousand. Such a tremendous and rapid increase in population disturbed the relatively stable ecological and social order of the city, and set in chain a set of social forces which in 1919 resulted in a race riot and sowed the "seeds" of the "problems" which we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter. On the credit side, however, it laid the population base for the elaborate social organization which now characterizes the Negro community with its businesses, associations, community institutions, and system of social classes.

A white Baptist minister[154] has given us a colorful synopsis of these migration years, which, though obviously biased, by these very biases gives us some insight into the effect of the war and migration on Chicago. (The church which he pastored was formerly located at 31st Street and South Parkway, the present site of Olivet Baptist Church, one of the South Side's three largest edifices.)

> The Coming of the War
>
> The World War which began in 1914 was a painful shock to all idealists. It has seemed to not a few people that the awakening of the church to her social mission; the deeper recognition of the sanctity of human life as expressed in legislation for the protection of women and children; the new penology with its juvenile courts and probation officers; the multiplication of arbitration treaties among the nations; the great missionary propaganda with its slogan, "The Evangelism of the World in This Generation," were heralds of a brighter and a better day. In the midst of pleasant dreams of the speedy coming of a world set free from some of its worst evils there fell the thunderbolt of war. Men of good will had been dreaming of world peace instead there was

world war; of the conscription of the unearned wealth of the few for benefit of the many and instead there was a conscription of millions of men and billions of dollars for the manufacture and operation of engines of destruction that were to drain the life-blood of Europe to the lees.

On Good Friday, 1917, President Wilson signed the Joint Resolution of Congress declaring a state of war against Germany. This declaration of war shook Chicago to its foundations. One out of every five persons in the city was of German birth or ancestry. The sympathies of hundreds of thousands of other people of foreign extraction were with the Teutonic powers. In addition to the large group of orthodox Socialists who viewed the war as a capitalistic conflict to keep the proletariat in economic servitude, there were the gentle Quakers with their hatred of all forms of compulsion, the Tolstoyan non-resistants, and the universities among the professors and college men a group who liked to themselves "Idealistic intellectuals." Mr. Roosevelt who advocated the national policy of walking softly and carrying a big stick, referring to this latter class, said, "That they were unfitting themselves for any career more manly than that of a nursemaid." William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago, who had what might be called an anti-British complex made no bones as to where his sympathies were in the world conflict.

Chicago had been tested by fires, pancis, riots, labor conflicts. It is now to endure the most searching test of all--a war that called for universal military training that summoned thousands of young men of German ancestry to go overseas and help to kill men of their own blood and speech. The amazing thing is that when war was actually declared the city which had been divided into pro-German and pro-Ally factions got together and gave the most loyal and hearty support to the war which it was believed was to end war forever.*

The years 1917-18 were exciting in the history of Chicago. Business boomed; bands played; thousands of people watched war bulletins at newspaper buildings; war sermons in the churches; devout people thanked God for ten thousand Germans killed in battle; millions of people sang, "Over There," "The Yanks are Coming," "Its a Long, Long Way to Tipperary," "Keep the Home Fires Burning;" Liberty Loan drives; Red Cross appeals; people with inside information as to what was really happening over in France; common labor put on silk shirts and drove to the factories in shining automobiles; war profiteers rose to sublime heights of patriotism; Mayor Thompson sulked in his tent; glorification of men in khaki; war marriages; Main Street learned geography and the flags of allied nations; black bread; kitchen gardens and food will win the war; Bible charts predicted the World War and the German Kaiser as the Beast of the Revelation; the signing of the Armistice; thousands of people prayed and thousands of others got drunk; the President went to France

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*The Defender began carrying articles on the War in 1914 with references to colonial soldiers, Jack Johnson, who was made an honorary colonel by the French, and the role of American Negroes in the war. The Negro churches, of course, did "their bit."[155]

and the American soldiers returned home; the League of Nations; the Millennium tarried as America returned to normalcy.[156]

Coming of the Negroes

In 1916* began the great trek of Negroes from Southern to northern states. By 1918 the migration was approximately half a million. Just how many arrived and settled in Chicago during that two-year period it is difficult to estimate. The Illinois Central Railway transported tens of thousands of plantation Negroes from the South to Chicago. Like the settlers who came to Chicago in the first decade in their covered wagons many of them who had thought to go farther decided that Chicago was the place for them.[157]

The Pastor of First Church continues:

Why the Negroes Came

Chicago was the Promised Land to the plantation Negroes and the Mississippi was the River Jordan which separated them from a city which flowed with milk and honey. There was no lack of milk and honey in Chicago during the period of the World War. At the beginning of the war the stream of immigration from European countries to America dried up to a tiny trickle. When the United States entered the war 350,000 men in Illinois were called to the service of their country. Under the stimulus of the war, production had increased enormously and there was a lack of producers.** The packing houses, steel mills, and factories of all kinds were calling and clamoring for men. Wages for unskilled labor ranged from $3.00 to $8.00 a day. It sounded like a fortune to the southern Negro who considered himself lucky if he were able to make $0.75 a day on the farm, or a $1.75 a day in certain city jobs. A multitude of those who were able to raise the price of a railway ticket packed their humble belongings in carpet bags and with joyful hearts started for the state of Abraham Lincoln and the city in which he was nominated for President.***

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*Dr. Charles S. Johnson, discussing the migration, reminds us that "The migration of 1916-1918 cannot be separated completely from the steady, though inconspicuous, exodus from southern to northern states that has been in progress since 1860, or, in fact, since the operation of the "underground railway."[158]

**It is rather generally believed that the large industries actually sent "recruiters" into the South to induce Negroes to migrate, often paying their fares. There is no confirmation of this prevalent belief, however. The role of the Chicago Defender was tremendously important in stimulating migration from the South, urging, as it did, all Negroes who could to leave.

***One custom was to form "clubs" of migrants and to thus secure reduced railway fares.

It was not simply the economic urge that lured the Negro from his southern home. The humilation of Jim Crow cars, the fear of job violence, inferior school facilities, the feeling that a Negro stood no chance with a white man in a court of justice--all of these things and others shadowed his life in the South. Chicago was said to be hospitable to Negroes. Stories were told of the great Negro churches that equalled any white churches in the South. A Negro woman who came before the Commission on Race Relations was asked what church she attended. She replied, "Olivet. I goes every Sunday and Wednesday night to prayer meeting just to thank God that he let me live to go to a place of worship like that, a place where colored folks worship and aint pestered with white folks."159

The Commission on Race Relations making a more precise analysis of the causes of the migration, grouped them into Economic and Sentimental:*

	Economic	Sentimental
South ("push")	1. Low Wages 2. Boll weevil 3. Lack of capital 4. Unsatisfactory standard of living 5. Lack of school facilities	1. Lack of protection from mob violence 2. Injustice in the courts 3. Inferior transportation facilities 4. Deprivation of right to vote 5. Persecution by law 6. Persecution by press
North ("pull")	1. Stoppage of immigration due to World War 2. High wages 3. Better living conditions 4. Identical school privileges	Civil Rights "Opportunity to advance"

*Miss Elizabeth Johns, Superintendent of W.P.A. Project 3787, has preparod a detailed analysis of "Migration and Mobility of Negroes in Chicago."

The white pastor, writing for a white audience, continues:

The Struggle for Space

> It was the South Side that received the bulk of the Negro population. Little by little they entered into their Promised Land driving out the whites even as the Children of Israel drove out the Canaanites in the days of Moses and Joshua. Some of the descendants of God's own people who were engaged in the real estate business rendered valuable assistance.* Something like a panic seized upon the people of the South Side. A favorite device of real estate agents was to pay a high price for the first house or apartment to be used for Negro tenants, then in the general exodus of white people from the block property could be purchased for a song. It was brought out in the testimony before the Commission on Race Relations that a favorite device of real estate agents was to send a Negro in a block to inquire about property. In the resulting alarm the owners would consider offers much below the normal prices. When the excitement had abated values rose again and a profit was made. The Negroes were not to blame. They had to lay their heads somewhere and the only available places were places where the heads of the white people had formerly laid. It was a struggle between the Negroid and the Caucasian race for a place under the sun and the struggle ended with the descendants of Ham as victors. . . . .[160]

Urbanizing the "New-comers" Special Organizations Social Work

The influx of new-comers put a strain on the entire institutional structure of the community, which was reflected both within the Negro social organization and the white. At first there was no dearth of jobs, but there was a scarcity of houses, so that one of the first tasks confronting the community was finding somewhere for the Negroes to live. Then there was the pressure on the school facilities, for families in the South are notoriously large. Finally, there was the pressure on general community

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*This touch of veiled anti-Semitism on the part of the minister obscures the fact that many of the real estate men were non-Jewish; that Negroes themselves were not averse to making a profit out of the situation, (see Gosnell, H. F., Negro Politicians, 169) and that Protestant churches sold their buildings to Negroes at often exorbitant prices, (see Mays and Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 181; 190). The author of the passage himself pastored a white congregation which had sold a building to Negroes.

facilities--clubhouses, playgrounds, churches, etc.--which could be met only by multiplying the available agencies in some cases, enlarging buildings and staff in others, and founding new institutions. Closely associated with the latter problem was the intangible matter of prestige, and the distinction between "old-settlers" and "new-comers" became a meaningful one.

> Meeting actual conditions of life in Chicago brought its exaltations and disillusionments to the migrants. These were reflected in the schools, public amusement places, industry and the street cars. The Chicago Urban League, the Negro churches, and Negro newspapers assumed the task of making the migrants into "city folks". . . . . Adjustment to new conditions was taken up by the Urban League as its principle work. Co-operating with the Traveler's Aid Society, United Charities and other agencies of the city, it met the migrants at stations and, as far as its facilities permitted, secured living quarters and jobs for them. The churches took them into membership, and attempted to make them feel at home. Negro newspapers published instructions on dress and conduct and had great influence in smoothing down improprieties of manner which were likely to provoke criticism and intolerance in the city.
>
> Individual experiences of the migrants of this period of adjustment were often interesting. . . . . It is to be remembered that over 70 per cent of the Negro population of the South is rural. This means familiarity with rural methods, simple machinery, and plain habits of living. Farmers and plantation workers coming to Chicago had to learn new tasks. Skilled craftsmen had to relearn their trades when they were thrown amid the highly specialized processes of northern industries. Domestic servants went into industry. Professional men following their clientele had to re-establish themselves in a new community. The small business men could not compete with the Jewish merchants, who practically monopolized the trade of Negroes near their residential areas, or with the "loop" stores.
>
> Many Negroes sold their homes and brought their furniture with them. Re-investing in property frequently meant a loss; the furniture brought was often found to be unsuited to tiny apartments or large abandoned dwelling houses they were able to rent or buy.
>
> The change of home carried with it in many cases a change of status. The leader in a small southern community when he came to Chicago was immediately absorbed into the struggling mass of un-noticed workers. School teachers, male and female, whose positions in the South carried considerable prestige, had to go to work in factories and plants because the disparity in educational standards would not permit continuance of their profession in Chicago.[161]

The Chicago Urban League was founded at the peak of the migration.*

The Commission on Race Relations, commenting on the Urban League, stated:

> Its executive board and officers are whites and Negroes of high standing and influence in both the white and Negro groups and it is supported by voluntary subscriptions. Within four years this organization has taken the leading place among all the social agencies working especially among Negroes. It has a well-trained staff of twelve paid workers, and its work is carried out along the lines accepted in modern social work. The League has organized its activities as follows: Administration Department, Industrial Department, Research and Records Department, Children's Department, and settlement work.[162]
>
> In 1920, the League made industrial investigations in 16 plants, provided lectures for workingmen in plants and for foremen over Negro workers. It also investigates complaints of workers, selects and fits men for positions, secures positions for Negroes where Negroes have never worked before, and assists in other ways the adjustment of Negroes in industry.[163]

In addition to the Urban League other social agencies, already in existence, modified their programs to meet the needs of the new-comers. The Wabash Avenue YMCA (founded in 1912) became " . . . . one of the strongest agencies of the community":

> . . . . its work is among boys and young men, many of whom are industrial workers in various plants. Community work is vigorously promoted. In 1920, an enthusiastic group of 1,137 boys was enlisted in a

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*Executive Secretary A. L. Foster in "Twenty Years of Inter-racial Goodwill Through Social Service" (1916-1936) tells the story of the founding thus:[164]

> The movement of Negroes from the South was at its height in 1915, and it was in November of that year that a small group of white and colored citizens met at the City Club and considered plans for "solving the serious problems of our growing Negro population." A year thereafter, the Chicago League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (now the Chicago Urban League) was organized in the Wabash Avenue YMCA. . . . . The Federation of Colored Women's Clubs endorsed the League and its officers hastened its formation. Experts in welfare programs and persons interested in the progress of the Negro, welcomed the movement. (Representatives of Provident Hospital, The Phyllis Wheatley Home, and the University of Chicago School of Social Work were present.) . . . . To some extent the League may be said to be an outgrowth of the work of the Frederick Douglass Center which had been organized in 1904 by Mrs. Celia Parker Wooley.[165]

> neighborhood clean-up campaign, and 100 community gardens were put in operation. Moving pictures and community singing were provided during the summer months.[164]

In addition to this work the "Y" served as a housing bureau, directed people to churches, held religious services itself, provided recreation and baths, and

> . . . . promoted efficiency and industrial clubs among Negro workers in industrial plants, three glee clubs, noon-day recreational programs, and nine baseball teams.[167]

The YWCA had its branch in 1919 at 3541 Indiana Avenue, and in addition to its recreational program and employment agency,

> . . . . a small number of girls live in the building. . . . and a room directory is maintained through which safe homes are secured for girls who are strangers in the city, or who have no family connections.[168]

The Elaine Home Club and the Johnson Home for Girls also provided ". . . . living accommodations under careful supervision for young working girls, while the Phyllis Wheatley Home provided "wholesome home surroundings for colored girls and women who are strangers in the city. . . . to house them until they find safe and comfortable quarters."[169]

The South Side Community Service (later the South Side Settlement), the Wendell Phillips Settlement, the Butler Community Center, the Hartzell Center of the South Park Methodist Episcopal Church, the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls (Catholic), the Woodlawn Community Association, and the Louise Training School for Colored Boys were all actively at work trying to teach the new-comers city ways.

Urbanizing the New-comers Church

The formal social agencies were in a position to impose the city pattern on the new-comers, as did the discipline of work in industry or in the northern household.

In the church and associations, however, the process was far less a conscious one. On one hand the existing churches tended to impose the pattern of city life on the migrant, but on the other hand, the migrants also modified the church and associational structure by causing adjustments within existing units and by the addition of new ones. This interplay of forces has helped to produce the present church and associational pattern among Negroes in Chicago. One pronounced effect on the community was a rapid increase in the number of members of the churches already existing in the city. The following table reflects this effect.[170]

Name of Church (In order of greatest growth)	Increase in membership during Migration Period	
	Number Added	Percentage Added
(1) Olivet Baptist	5,543	1,872
(2) South Park M.E.	2,425	800
(3) St. Marks M.E.	1,800	338
(4) Salem Baptist	700	131
(5) Bethel A.M.E.	650	100
(6) Walters A.M.E.Z.	351	80
(7) Hyde Park A.M.E.	95	51

This increase in size of churches has been interpreted to mean that the migrants made "prompt efforts to re-engage in community life and establish agreeable and helpful associations. It also reflects the persistence of religious life among Negroes."[171]

Not only, however, did the membership of the already existing churches increase, but new churches sprang into being at a rapid rate.

The following table indicates the great increase in the number of congregations between 1915-1919.*[172]

*See Appendix I for typical stories of ministers who migrated to Chicago during this era.

Year of Organization of 65 Churches Present in 1919	Number
1825-1850 (25 years)	2
1850-1880 (30 years)	2
1880-1900 (20 years)	10
1900-1910 (10 years)	5
1910-1920 (10 years)	46

Of the Negro churches existing in 1919, they were distributed among the various denominations as follows:[173]

Denomination	"Regular"	"Store-Front"	Total
Baptist	19	67	86
Missionary Baptist	19	61	80
Free Will Baptist	..	2	2
Primitive Baptist	..	4	4
Methodist	21	13	34
Methodist Episcopal	6	..	6
African Methodist Episcopal	9	6	15
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	3	1	4
Colored Methodist Episcopal	3	..	3
Independent Methodist Episcopal	..	6	6
Presbyterian	2	2	4
Episcopal	1	..	1
Concregational	1	..	1
Disciples of Christ	1	..	1
*Saints, Holiness and Healing churches	..	20	20
Total	45	102	147

*For the first time "Saints, Holiness and Healing Churches" appear. The pastor of the largest Holiness Church insists that there were no congregations here prior to the migration, as do other ministers who were in the city in pre-migration days.

Aside from the sheer pressure of population against the existing congregations, there were other factors which tended to bring new churches into being. The Commission on Race Relations, commenting on these factors in relation to the "Store Front" Church, stated:

> The "store front" church membership is merely a small group, which, for one reason or another, has sought to worship independently of any connection with the larger churches. The establishment of such a church may be the result of the withdrawal of a part of the membership of a larger church (a "split"). They secure a pastor or select a leader from their own number and continue their worship in a place where their notions are not in conflict with other influences. Most frequently a minister formerly in the South has come with or followed his migrant members and has re-established his church in Chicago.* Or again a group with religious beliefs and ceremonies not in accord with those of established churches may establish a church of its own. The groups are usually so small and the members so poor as to make the purchase of a building impossible. The custom has been to engage a small store and put chairs in it. Hence the name "store front" church.. . . . Out of 100 "store front" churches visited only seven own or are buying the property they use. . . . . A sharp division both as to education and experience is found between the pastors of the regular churches and those of the "store front" churches. Generally, the larger churches have the better trained, more experienced, and more highly salaried ministers. Exceptions are found in the case of one or two "holiness" churches. . . . . A very high proportion of families below the line of comfortable subsistence belong to the small "store front" churches. The number and variety of denominational divisions and sects increases competition for membership and sends pastors and members out into the community to gather in the people.[174]

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*An official of a church organized as late as 1927 wrote the story of his church, and it is quoted here exactly as he wrote it:

> About 12 years ago quite a number of people emigrated in Chicago from Wilkes County, the State of Georgia, there was any-number of those Persons that was acquainted in the South, A group numbering about (18-20) formed themselves in what was known as "The Drexel Club," they increased rapidly, through acquaintancy, as often as one member would see one he knew from the South he inform him about the Club, and invite him to their meeting, usually they became members on their first Visit, Dr. _____, formerly Pastored 95% of this group in the southland, He came to Chicago on a Vacation, while being here this club gave him some to or three gifts, these were some of the means of which was used in Persuading Rev._____ to stay here and join the club. Shortly after this, which was Eleven years ago, the _____Missionary Baptist Church was organized, and Rev. _____ was chosen Pastor, this

Robert Sutherland, whose "Analysis of the Negro Church in Chicago" (1928) is the most comprehensive study available, attempted to divide all Negro churches into five types, and adjustment to urban conditions was an important factor in this classification. His types were as follows:

Type I - Small, "one man churches" of local and spontaneous origin, "preacher centered."

Type II - Small, relatively isolated groups with "little consciousness of their divergence from urban standards." Not "preacher centered," however.

Type III - Churches in which there is "a strange mingling of the old and new." "A large share of the members recognize that they are in a changed environment and that their religious practices are out of accord with the generally accepted standards."

Type IV - Churches oriented toward their "new environment" and meeting the generally accepted "white standards."

Type V - Churches which interpret their task" . . . . not on the basis of inherited theology, but according to the present day experiences and needs of its people."

This typology might be criticized on the basis that it attempts to compare Negro churches with some hypothetical "white standard" and city churches with some assumed "rural type," when the fact is that white churches are just as varied in myth and ritual as Negro churches, and there is little evidence for saying that unrestrained emotionalism is "rural" as opposed to "urban." What Sutherland calls "white" and "urban" may be noth-

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he did 9-years, The church moved around and Paid rent untill two years ago, in which they made choice of 7-men and Placed them as a buying committee, Rev. _____ (the writer) was Chairman of this committee, the first thing the buying committee done was to make the Church a Charted organization, Secondly- they purchased a place as a Permanent Home of the Church, (located at _____. this church grew to a Large membership of around (800,) but for some cause only a few has been steadfast and unmovable, and at the Present time we have on about (175) members, and they continue to decrease in of the many to join each year.[175]

ing more than upper and middle class behavior. Nevertheless, since most of the migrants were "lower class," and from the country, the classification has some validity.

Urbanizing the New-comer Clubs

The business of living is for most persons more important than making a living, and the migrants entered a community where definite patterns of spending leisure time had already been developed. These they adopted and often modified.* The Commission commenting on the associational structure in 1922, stated:

> Many of the clubs and societies with social educational or professional interests are modeled after those of the larger community. . . . . There are also many smaller clubs organized for various purposes, but designed principally to serve the Negro community. There are more than seventy women's clubs, leagued in the Chicago Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.** There are also the Art and Charity Club, Chicago Union Charity Club, Cornell Charity, Dearborn Centre, Diana Charity, East End 30th Ward, East Side Woman's Club, Eureka Fine Art, Fideles Charity, Giles Charity, Hyacinth Charity, Ideal Embroidery Art, Ideal Woman's Club, Imperial Art, Kenwood Center, Mental Pearls, Mother's Union, Necessity Club, New Method Industrial, North Shore, North Side Industrial, Motley Social Uplift, Phyllis Wheatley Club, Progressive Circle of King's Daughter's 37th Ward Civic League, Volunteer Workers, West Side Woman's City Club, and the Woman's Civic League.

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*The following incidents indicate the role of the club in adjusting migrants, and the effect of a clash between southern and northern culture patterns.

> A socially prominent woman, commenting on a club she had organized during the migration era stated:
>
> I organized the Paramount Club, as a favor for a woman who'd come here from the South with a lot of money and made a bid for society and wasn't accepted. . . . . All of her friends wanted to know who that crude woman was and where she came from. She was all right as far as character and morals go, but she just wasn't the least bit cultured or refined, you know. . . . after I organized the club and she and Dr.____ were charter members, people had to accept her and she learned to entertain nicely after a while.[176]

During this same era another club had trouble with members who wanted to make money selling chitterlings, a favorite southern dish.[177]

**Clubs known to be in existence before 1915 are underlined.

Among the exclusive social clubs, perhaps the most important is the Appomatox Club. Its membership includes the leading business and professional men, and it has a well-appointed club building. Its membership is limited and it carries civic and social prestige.

The Phalanx Club is an organization of government employees. Its membership is large though limited by occupational restriction. Its interests are largely social. The Forty Club and Half-Century Club are purely social and still more exclusive.

Negro professional societies, sometimes formed because of the objection of whites to the participation of Negroes in white societies of a similar nature, include the Lincoln Dental Association, Physicians, Dentists, and Pharmacists Association, a Bar Association, and a Medical Association.[178]

State and City Clubs

There is some evidence that state and city loyalties carry over into the Chicago pattern in such clubs as the Vicksburg Club, the Natchez Club, the Louisiana Club, the Arkansas Club.* The following observations (1937) deal with the founding of the Natchez Club and with the type of thinking which motivates the formation.

It was organized mainly to get the Natchez members together. There are a lot of people here from Natchez that don't know each other. We sent all of the people cards that we knew telling them to invite others that they knew about. We knew some that others didn't know and they knew some that we didn't know. We had about fifty at our first meeting. They have three branches of the club. If you are married to a person from Natchez you are in that branch. The older people are in another. It is all the Natchez Club, but we have different chapters The dues are fifty cents, I think.

I have been here since I was three months old. My father has been here about thirty years. Some haven't been here but ten and fifteen years. The length of time in Chicago doesn't matter. There is no special occupation. The main purpose my dad had in mind was to have a sick benefit to give the members about three dollars a week to buy fruit, flowers and tobacco when they are sick. He also intended to give burial to members. It isn't like charity, but it keeps the members interested in one another. It is really a good plan father had in mind. He intends to buy a club house. They will have a dance hall, a bar, club rooms for everything, and a swimming pool.

He also intends to organize a branch in Memphis and another in St. Louis. There are a lot of Natchez people in both places. In that way each summer you will have a chance to visit one of the places, and have some place to go. It won't be like going to a strange place and not knowing anybody.[179]

An Alabama State Club member said of his club that his fellows

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*See Appendix for Statistical Table on State Clubs.

> thought that it would be nice to organize and get together once in a while. We help out each other when we're sick and buy flowers when we die. Twenty-five cents a month takes care of flowers and cards when we are sick. . . . . It's too much for all you get out of it. Why we must have a hundred regular paying members and paying that much money every month makes quite a lot of money. We should get more out of it than that.[180]

Here another member interrupted:

> But James, this is not a lodge and we don't have sick and death benefits. You know we give dances every year, and our annual banquet that takes money, and then every summer when we entertain the out-of town-visitors. That's where the money goes.[181]

A member of the Arkansas Club commented as follows:

> I joined in 1925. At that time, the president was . . . . a postal employee. The membership roll recorded about two hundred, the attendance, however, fluctuated from a low of twelve or fifteen to about fifty whenever something "big" like a dance was planned. The requirements for membership are that a person must either have been born, or lived for a period in Arkansas and must be accepted by a majority of the members. The prime requisite is respectability--'We don't want it so that just any old Tom, Dick, and Harry can get it'.
>
> The club is built upon a sort of home loyalty, urging members to patronize Arkansas business and professional men. It serves as a sort of information bureau for Arkansas people coming to or through Chicago. Whenever an Arkansas person is ill, the fact is reported to the club and members pay him visits and cards are sent. Whenever it is reported that a member is out of work or has some misfortune, a collection is taken and given him. Meetings are held twice monthly at the Y.W.C.A.[182]

White Institutional Adjustment to the "Invasion"

Institutions ministering to a specified racial or class clientele, when faced with the invasion of a different group may adjust in either of several ways, viz., (1) by catering to both the original group and the new group, (2) by remaining at the same site and catering to the population which has moved out, (3) by remaining at the same site and catering to the population moving in, or by (4) abandoning the site to the new-comers. The rate at which either of these processes takes place, will of course, vary with

the type of institution, the rapidity of the invasion and the complex of power and prestige factors involved.

By far, the most common pattern in the Chicago Negro community has been the sale of the non-business property of the institutions to Negroes, with the consequent withdrawal of the institution from the community. This has been particularly true of churches. There are now less than a dozen white congregations still worshipping in predominantly Negro areas, including Sinai Temple, which several congregations wished to buy but whose price they could not meet. The Christian Science and Catholic churches have very gradually changed from all-white to all-Negro congregations. The Christian Science Church on Michigan Avenue is now The Eighth Church of Christ Scientist (colored). In the late twenties Cardinal Mundelein wrote the following words in a pastoral letter:

> But now I desire St. Monica's to be reserved entirely for the colored Catholics of Chicago, and particularly of the South-side; all other Catholics of whatever race or color are to be requested not to intrude. It is of course understood that I have no intention of excluding colored Catholics from any of the other churches in the diocese and particularly, if they live in another part of the city, but simply excluding from St. Monica's, all but the colored Catholics.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> It would be puerile for us to ignore the fact that a distinction as to color enters very often into the daily happenings of our city. I am not going to argue as to the reasons for or against this line of distinction which causes so much bitterness, nor will I say anything as to the justice or injustice of it. It is sufficient to say that it does exist, and that I am convinced that I am quite powerless to change it, or that I believe the underlying reasons to be more economic than social. What I am concerned about is that my colored children shall not feel uncomfortable in the Catholic Church.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . . because of the circumstances that exist in this city, I am convinced that our colored Catholics will feel themselves very much more comfortable, far less inconvenienced and never at all embarrassed if in a church that is credited to them, they have their own sodalities and societies, their own church and choir, in which they alone will constitute the membership and for ever stronger reasons the first place in the church should be theirs just as much as the seats in the rear benches are.[18]

St. Anselm Catholic Church at 61st and Michigan is now in the last stages of becoming all-Negro.

While churches tended to move immediately, settlement houses and other recreational agencies tended to adjust. Certain agencies owning non-taxable property in the Black Belt or having low prestige-value also tended to stay.*

The Baptist minister quoted above has given a very detailed picture of the effect of the "invasion" on the oldest white Baptist church in the city, First Church. It also indicates the values which are in competition with the values espoused by Christianity:

> The ninth decade tested the temper of the First Church as no other decade in its history had done. Four ministers in this brief period struggled against the adverse forces that threatened the very existence of the church. To stay by a sinking ship is contrary to the prudential motive that actuates many saints as well as sinners, and the granting of church letters to not a few people of wealth and ability to unite with other churches could not help but weaken the resistive powers of the church against an environment that was becoming increasingly hostile. In the golden days of Dr. Everts' ministry presidents of railroads, bankers, manufacturers, merchant princes, men eminent in law, medicine, and journalism, were active members. Membership in the First Church carried with it something of the prestige found in the boast of the ancient Roman, "I am a Roman citizen." That day is past. The church auditorium no longer seats a congregation many of whose names were to be found in the society columns of the Chicago newspapers and listed in the commercial register of Bradstreet. In the local church paper of June, 1914, attention is called to the fact that twenty-five nationalities are now represented in the church membership, or in some affiliation of the church: Japanese, Chinese, Corean, Hindu, Cuban, Negro, French, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Swedish, German, Norwegian, American Indian, Spanish, Bohemian, English, Irish, Scotch, Greek, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Austrian. It is also further noted, out of two hundred and ninety-six children enrolled in the Kindergarten who come from a radius of one-half mile of the church there are sixteen nationalities represented.[184]

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*See Appendix for tables.

But in 1915 the cry was heard, "The Negroes are coming" and Mr. Adams in October of that year reported, "Our Negro brethren will soon have a large majority in our community."

The church reported in its letter to the Association in 1918, "Our church has been greatly handicapped during the past year by the great influx of colored people and the removal of many whites. Outlook for future bright and promising." After stating the fact that Negroes were moving in and white people moving out and also reporting a membership of 421 as compared with a reported membership the preceding year of 780, where the church could find evidence of a future that was bright and promising baffles the mind of the writer. Possibly it was intended to be taken as a pious hope, the expression of the thought that if God be for us, who can be against us, rather than as a sober statement of fact.

In 1918 the Negroes coming from the South by tens of thousands, lured by the promise of high wages in the packing houses, mills, and railroad yards of Chicago, swarmed to the blocks surrounding the church building. Beautiful homes occupied by families belonging to the church for generations were sold for whatever price they could obtain. The membership declined to 403 and only 10 persons united with the church that year. The church was face to face with catastrophe. No eloquent preaching, no social service, could save a church in a community that was nearly 100 per cent Negro. Meanwhile the Negro churches in Chicago with inadequate church buildings were swamped by the rising tide of color. Conspicuous among them was the Olivet Baptist Church, a former protege of the First Church.

It was Dr. Main who conceived the idea of selling the property to the Olivet Church and on May 29, 1918, the building entered into the possession of the Olivet Church for $80,000. The church in its letter to the Association states, "The sale of the church property to the Olivet Baptist Church was brought about through the tireless efforts of our pastor and must prove of vital importance to both civic affairs and Baptist Missionary endeavor."

That prediction was fulfilled. Under the sane and efficient leadership of Dr. Williams the membership increased to ten thousand and probably has accomplished more in promoting the physical, moral, and spiritual betterment of the Negroes in Chicago than any other institution.

The church held its last service in the old building on Sunday evening, September 15, 1918. For nearly one-half a century they had worshipped God in that sanctuary. It was filled with sacred associations. They recalled the happy days of Everts, Lorimer, and Henson when the seating capacity of the great building had been taxed to accommodate the crowds that gathered; of gracious revivals in which scores of people had been born again; of anniversary seasons in which the tribes had come up to conduct business for the denomination; of marriage vows that had been uttered within its walls; of services for the sainted dead who had been called up higher. On that last Sunday evening they prayed together, listened to a sermon, no doubt shed a few tears, and having sung a final hymn, that remnant of a great church went out without a church home of their own and without a field for a new ministry.

The problem of a temporary dwelling place was solved by the Memorial Church of Christ located on Oakwood Boulevard near Cottage Grove. Through its minister, Dr. H. L. Willett, it extended a cordial invitation to the First Church to join them in union services during the period of the war.* The invitation was most gratefully accepted. The first united service was held on Wednesday evening, September 18, 1918, and the gracious hospitality of the Memorial Church people was greatly appreciated by the members of the First Church. The two ministers worked together harmoniously and there was some agitation as to the advisability of uniting the two churches. But the Memorial Church building was not far from the colored section and the tide was still flowing southward and the church was fearful of the permanence of the community as a white community. The First Church people felt that they must go still farther South. How well justified their fears were is evident in the fact that less than ten years later the neighborhood of the Memorial Church was captured by the Negroes, their building sold to a colored church, and the membership so scattered that the church became extinct.

The problem of a new location was serious and perplexing. The church did not wish to intensify the competitive struggle for existence by locating in a community that was well served by other churches, and at the same time it was highly desirable not to go too far away from the homes of its members. It was discovered that a beautiful Gothic church building located at 935 East Fiftieth Street, near Drexel Boulevard, was for sale. It had been the former home of the Plymouth Congregational Society which had occupied it for only a few years, but, finding it impossible to build up a congregation, had amalgamated with the Kenwood Evangelical Church. The fact that one church after spending $100,000 on the property had abandoned the community as hopeless was not encouraging. The church was divided on the question, but it was realized that what had to be done must be done quickly if the church was to have any future. The building which was said to be one of the finest examples of pure English Gothic architecture in the city was offered to the church for the small sum of $28,700, and at a meeting of the church held on May 18, 1919, it was decided to accept the offer.

In June, 1921, the church extended a call to Rev. Perry J. Stackhouse, minister of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, of Utica, New York. Mr. Stackhouse began his ministry at the First Church the first Sunday in October, 1921. The Church at this time had a nominal membership of 400, but there was an unusually large number of non-resident and inactive church members due to the fact that in the transitional period names were retained with the hope that the wandering members might rally to the church in the new location. The drastic pruning of the membership roll occupied the attention of the church for several years, 75

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*This edifice seems fated to serve as a co-operative venture. At the time this study was made, both the Monumental Baptist Church and the Bethel A. M. E. Church were worshipping there, the former church owning the building and the latter making use of it due to the destruction in the twenties of its building by fire.

being dropped at one time and 144 at another. At the annual meeting in January, 1922, the church reported 150 contributors to current expenses. The church had been tested as few churches are tested and those who remained were the finest of the wheat.

The church was happy in its new field. Congregation crowded the auditorium and the increasing attendance at the Bible school taxed the inadequate facilities of the building. The pastor early in 1922 began to agitate the question of a Community House. The church in its letter to the Association of 1922 writes:

"The First Church has much cause for gratitude for having been so wonderfully kept and guided the past year. Since the coming of Dr. Stackhouse many indifferent members have become interested. Fifty-two have been added to the church, the majority by baptism. Contributions to missions have greatly increased. The future is bright with promise."

The sentence seems to have become a habit with the writer of the church letter. The decade closed with a spirit of enthusiasm and hopefulness concerning the future. Meanwhile the Negroes are steadily pushing down the alleys southward with their carts of furniture, but Forty-seventh Street running east and west still stands as a breakwater against the economic tide. If it crumbles there will be some new history for the First Church.[185]

It had crumbled, and the breakwater has now become the Illinois Central tracks from Sixty-third to Seventy-first Street.

Not all adjustments were so easily made as that of First Church, however, and First Church's pastor comments further:

The conquest of a large section of the South Side by the Negroes stirred up a good deal of resentment and racial hatred. The bombing of houses occupied by Negroes in a White neighborhood and of White landlords who rented to Negroes was extensively practiced during the decade.* White parents objected to their children being forced into association with Negro children in the public schools. The Negroes swarmed in the parks and the bathing beaches much to the displeasure of the Whites. There was a good deal of irritation caused by the presence of large numbers of Negroes in the State Street and Cottage Grove Avenue cars and the whole race had to suffer because occasionally a boisterous, bumptious, and overassertive Negro made himself obnoxious. This spirit of race hatred which had been growing in Chicago since 1916 came to a head on Sunday, July 27, 1919, on a bathing beach at Lake Michigan at Twenty-ninth Street. A part of the beach had been reserved for Whites and a part for Negroes. Someone crossed the line separating the two races. The riot began with stone-throwing and a Negro boy was drowned. A free fight in which knives and guns were used started, and there were 34 casualties--4 killed and 30 maimed. For four days the riots swept uncontrolled through certain sections of the South Side.

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*There were at least 68 bombings during 1919. As recently as 1925, a Negro church was bombed when it bought property in a white neighborhood.[186]

The governor of the state sent 5,000 soldiers and by August 2 the forces of law and order had prevailed. On August 8 the state militia withdrew. The casuality list numbered 38 persons killed, 537 injured, and about 1,000 rendered homeless and destitute.*

Various social agencies took steps to help in the emergency and to restore order. The American Red Cross had a branch at Thirty-fifth Street and Michigan Avenue. As soon as the rioting became serious a special relief headquarters was established here, and food was distributed to needy families cut off from work. The Urban League was used as headquarters for the distribution of food.

The Urban League had for several years, through its employment bureau, handled a large proportion of the city's Negro labor supply and was conversant with difficulties likely to arise from the rioting. It made food surveys of the entire Negro area, printed and distributed thousands of circulars and dodgers urging Negroes to stay off the streets, refrain from dangerous discussions of the riot, and cooperate with the police in every way to maintain order. The League sent telegrams to the governor and mayor suggesting plans for curbing disorder, organized committees of citizens to aid the authorities in restoring order, and served as a bureau of information and medium of communication between the white and Negro groups during the worst hostilities.

The Young Men's Christian Association was similarly active within the area of its efforts. Religious bodies, minister's associations, and individual ministers exerted their influence over their respective groups by advising the citizens to "keep cool," "hold their heads" and generally to let the authorities settle the riot. Negro business men and one Negro alderman sent wagons through the streets bearing large signs which advised Negroes not to congregate on streets, engage in arguments, or participate in any way in the disorders. The signs further stated that people would be advised when it was safe to return to work. . . . .[187]

While the rioting was in progress many Negroes were unable to get through to the stockyards and special pay stations were set up at the Y.M.C.A., the Urban League, the South Side Community House and the Binga State Bank. The unions were anxious that organized labor should not have the onus of participation in a riot upon it, and the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor published the following statement:

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*The author did not mention that of the 537 injuries 342 were Negroes. Of 38 deaths 23 were Negroes.

FOR WHITE UNION MEN TO READ

> Let any white union worker who has even been on strike where gunmen or machine gun have been brought in and turned on him and his fellows search his memory and recall how he felt. In this critical moment let every union man remember the tactics of the boss in a strike when he tried by shooting to terrorize striking workers into violence to protect themselves.
>
> Well, that is how the Negroes feel. They are panic-stricken over the prospect of being killed.
>
> A heavy responsibility rests on the white portion of the community to stop assault on Negroes by white men. Violence against them is not the way to solve the vexed race problem.
>
> This responsibility rests particularly heavy upon the white men and women of organized labor, not because they had anything to do with starting the present trouble, but because of their advantageous position to help end it. Right now it is going to be decided whether the colored workers are to continue to come into the labor movement or whether they are going to feel that they have been abandoned by it and lose confidence in it.
>
> It is a critical time for Chicago.
>
> It is a critical time for organized labor.
>
> All the influence of the unions should be exerted on the community to protect colored fellow-workers from the unreasoning frenzy of race prejudice. Indications of the past have been that organized labor has gone further in eliminating race hatred than any other class. It is up against the acid test now to show whether this is so.[138]

The whole community cooperated in an effort to halt the violence and mitigate the suffering:

> . . . . persons went about speaking on street corners urging cooperation with the police and militia. Appeals by officials and leading citizens were published in the white and Negro papers carrying similar advice. During the riot a committee of citizens representing forty-eight social, civic, commercial, and professional organizations met at the Union League Club and petitioned the governor to take steps to quiet the existing disorder and appoint a commission to study the situation with a view to preventing a repetition of it. As a result of this appeal followed by similar urgings by many committees, the present Chicago Commission on Race Relations was appointed and began its work.[139]

Upon the committee were outstanding leaders in both the Negro and white community including from the Negro community, the editor of the largest Negro weekly in the city; the pastor of the largest Negro Baptist

church in the city; an outstanding physician and surgeon, the national Grand Master of the Colored Odd Fellows of America, also a prominent state politician; a prominent lawyer and member of the Illinois General Assembly. Representing the white community were three outstanding lawyers, a prominent manufacturer and philanthropist, two outstanding business men, and the former director of Registration and Education of the State of Illinois.

The Baptist pastor quoted above, says of the Committee and its report:

> The clash between the races forced the Chicago public to face some problems that were vital and menacing. A Commission was appointed to make a study of race relations. Before that Commission appeared principals and teachers in the public schools, physicians, police officials, lawyers, nurses, clergymen, newspaper editors, and social workers who presented testimony that was valuable, if somewhat contradictory In 1922 a full report of the study was published. It is a human ment that throws a good deal of light on the psychology of the Negro and of the causes and effects of racial hatred. Since the riot relations between the races have shown considerable improvement, but there are still vexing problems closely related to the question of social equality for which there seems to be no present solution.[190]

A Social Structure

The social order which the race riot shattered temporarily was a remarkably fluid one, but there were certain fixed points in "social space" which were stable enough to maintain their existence even to the time of this present study. Set within the larger urban world was a "Negro world." In the first place, there were certain "community institutions" such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Urban League, which because of their access to financial and moral assistance of the more prosperous part of the white community were very stable. Then, there were the strong "racial" organizations--the lodges, the Federated Women's Clubs, the N.A.A.C.P., which by this time had won a permanent place. There were the older churches, property-owning and stable. There was a structure of social classes, maintaining its identity by a measuring scale of prestige applicable to associations and occupations--so that a person knew what was considered "upper class," "dicty," "hightoned," and what was "lower class." There were social clubs, old and respected.

Around this stable structure floated a constantly swirling group of short-lived clubs, store front churches, and other organizations--meeting the needs of the moment, of a small group here or there, and sometimes striking deep their roots and growing into new increments of stable organization which have existed down to the present. And within it all, individuals and families pursued their daily round, enjoyed the moment, and sometimes planned for the future--played upon not only by the same urban forces

that through movies, newspapers, etc., affected everyone, but also participating in a set of beliefs about race that had long since become traditional and whose genesis we have traced throughout this chapter.

We shall leave the historical treatment at this point, and the next chapter will deal with the contemporary scene, giving a general description of the Negro community at the time of the study. It will describe the ecological and social order within which associations and churches function. The two succeeding chapters, "Spending Leisure Time" and "Worshipping God" also deal largely with the church and associations at a moment in time. The last chapter, "Solving Problems" will resume the historical method, taking up the story from the close of the riot in 1919 and sketching briefly the approaches which the community has made toward certain social problems. Throughout the chapter the role of the church and associations in the solution of community problems will be discussed, with emphasis upon the manner in which community leaders "mobilize the community." The final section is an appendix relating certain of the social data to ecology. It is suggested that the reader, in approaching the appendix, should first re-read the introduction to this study in order to relate the material to the general frame of reference.

The migration has continued throughout the depression years at a reduced rate, and the material in the next chapter represents an arbitrary end point of a migration process. The entire community up to 1939 has been characterized by an increasing population and has become more dense and more heterogeneous. Within this community, the individual growing up has been faced with a changing environment making ever increasing demands upon him.

"We are convinced by our inquiry: that measures involving or approaching deportation or segregation are illegal, impracticable and would not solve, but would accentuate, the race problem and postpone its just and orderly solution by the process of adjustment."

/Report of Commission on Race Relations, 1920./

". . . . Judge _____ of the Chicago Real Estate Board, before the Kiwanis Club of Hyde Park at the Windemere East, in summarizing the earnest and conscientious work of the Board for the last twelve months . . . . proceeded to explain the fine network of contracts that like marvelous delicately-woven chain armor is being raised from the northern gates of Hyde Park at 35th Street and Drexel Boulevard to Woodlawn, Park Manor, South Shore, Windsor Park, and all the far-flung white communities of the South Side. And of what does this armor consist? It consists of a contract which the owner of the property signs not to exchange with, sell to, or lease to any member of a race not Caucasian."

/Hyde Park Herald.
March 30, 1928/

CHAPTER III

NEGROES LIVE IN CHICAGO

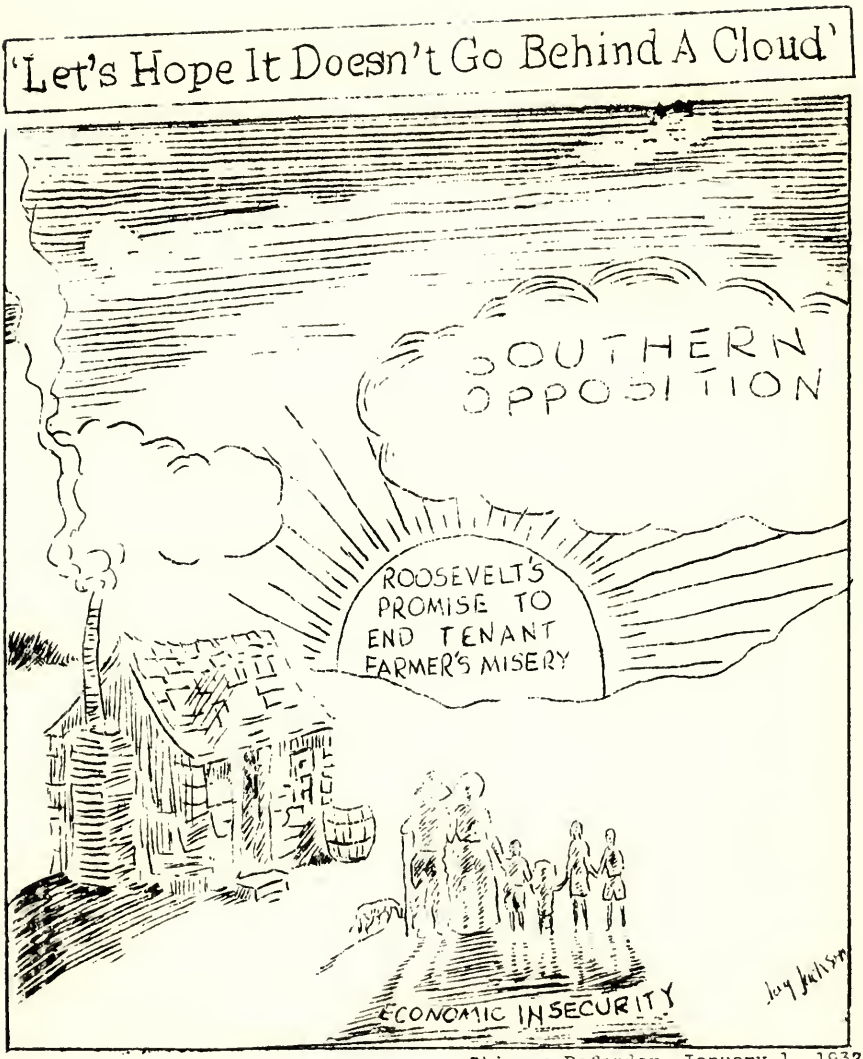
Some months ago, Opportunity[1] carried a series of articles by Horace R. Cayton, entitled "Negroes Live in Chicago"--an eloquent reminder of a fact which busy or uninterested city people often forget when discussing public policy and do not remember untill a non-too comfortable life among Negroes has taken its startling toll in disease and breaches of the social peace--thus awakening buried memories and stirring uneasy consciences. We shall begin this second section--the contemporary scene--with a reminder that NEGROES LIVE IN CHICAGO.

What Negroes?

About 236,000 of them--varied in color and circumstance, about 80 per cent born elsewhere than in Illinois, (predominantly in the South) and drawn to the city by the forces we have already described in the previous chapter. Their rate of entry and the absolute number of migrants has varied from decade to decade as indicated below:

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION WITH PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1850-1934[2]

Year	Total Population	Percentage Change	Negro Population	Percentage Change
1850	29,963	.....	323	.....
1860	109,260	264.6	958	196.6
1870	298,977	173.6	3,696	285.8
1880	503,185	68.3	6,480	75.3
1890	1,099,850	118.6	14,271	120.2
1900	1,698,575	54.4	30,150	111.3
1910	2,185,283	28.7	44,103	46.3
1920	2,701,705	23.6	109,458	148.2
1930	3,376,438	25.0	233,903	113.7
1934	3,258,528	-3.5	236,305	1.0


'Let's Hope It Doesn't Go Behind A Cloud'
SOUTHERN OPPOSITION
ROOSEVELT'S PROMISE TO END TENANT FARMER'S MISERY
ECONOMIC INSECURITY

Chicago Defender, January 1, 1937

WHAT THEY LEFT BEHIND

The masses of the Chicago Negroes left behind them the insecurity of Southern life. The more articulate portion of the Negro community has not forgot "the folks back home".

Earlier in the period of migration there was an excess of men over women in the active age-range, but men and women are now present in approximately equal proportions, although the number of women slightly exceeds the number of men.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO UNDER 10 YEARS, AND 10 YEARS AND OVER: 1920-1930[3]

Population	1920		1930	
Total Negro Population	109,458		233,903	
Male	50,943		115,488	
Female	58,515		118,415	
Total 10 years and over	96,961		199,233	
Male	44,811		98,415	
Female	47,150		100,818	
Total under 10 years	12,497		34,670	
Male	6,132		17,073	
Under 5 years		3,116		8,731
5 to 9 years		3,016		8,342
Female	6,365		17,597	
Under 5 years		3,288		8,798
5 to 9 years		3,077		8,799

The Negro population is not a predominantly unlettered one, the illiteracy rate being only 2.2 per thousand, rather it is a community of "sixth graders," to which each year a larger and larger number of persons who have finished grammar school is added. Almost a fourth of the population has had some high school training, but less than one out of every twenty persons had had any training beyond high school. (A slightly larger proportion than among the foreign-born, however.) Among the native whites over 10 per cent of the population has had some training beyond high school. Only 3 per cent of the Negroes report no education, while 14 per cent of the foreign-born are in this category.

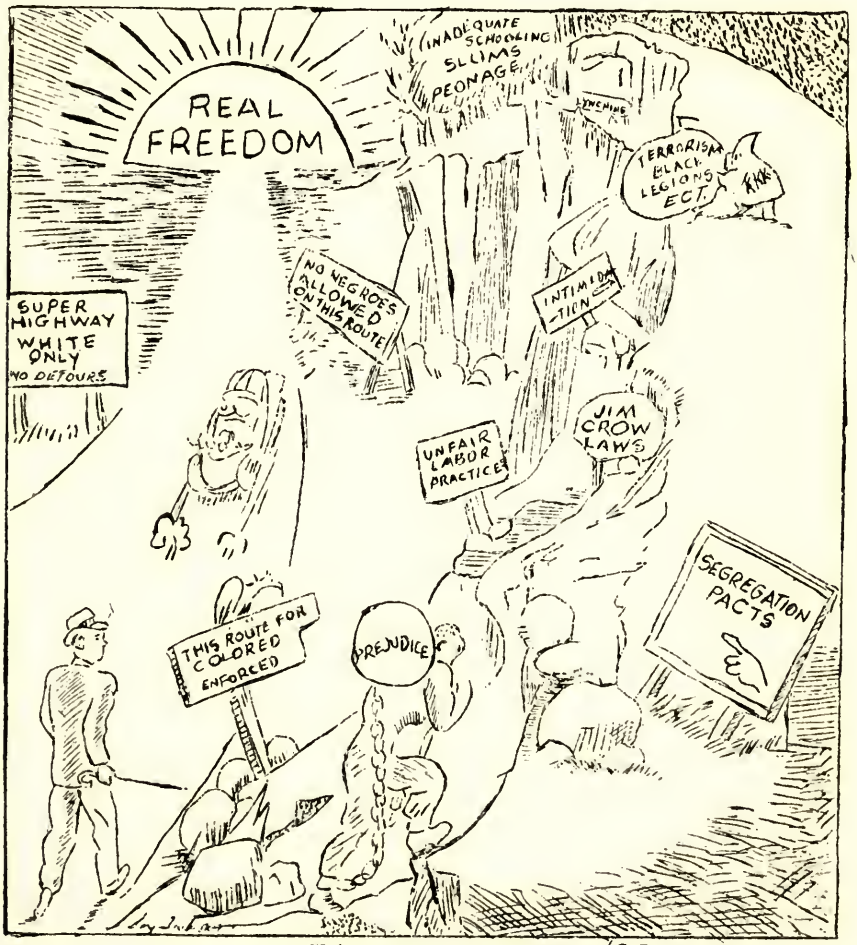
The following table compares the educational status of the Negroes and the foreign-born.

PER CENT NEGRO AND FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY GRADE COMPLETED IN SCHOOL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: 1934[4]

Grade Completed	Negro Population 18 years and Over	Per cent (Negro) 18 years and Over	Foreign-born White 18 years and Over	Per cent Foreign-born White 18 years and Over
None	5,856	3.3	90,163	14.0
1-4	22,628	12.9	100,120	15.5
5-8	93,608	53.3	358,357	55.6
9-10	20,464	11.6	30,972	4.8
11-12	22,408	12.8	38,402	6.0
13 and over	8,671	4.9	19,467	3.0
Unknown	2,077	1.2	6,775	1.1
TOTAL	175,712	100.0	644,256	100.0

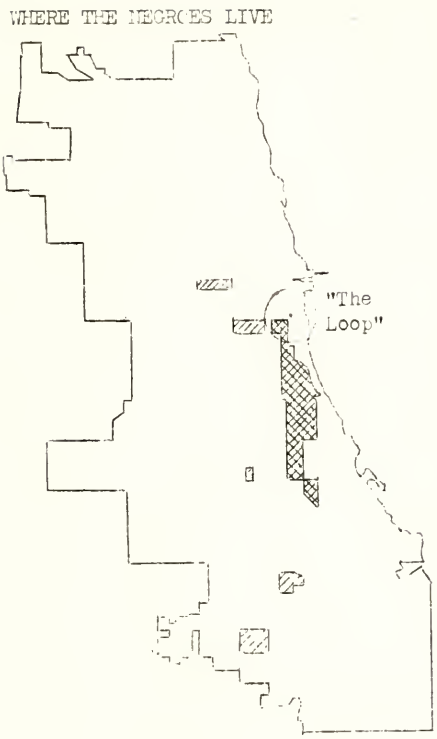
Many migrants said they came to Chicago to secure better educational advantages for their children. In this regard, it is interesting to note also that a slightly larger proportion of eligible Negro children attend school (98.2 per cent) than is the case among the foreign-born (84.4 per cent) and the native white of mixed or foreign parentage (88.3 per cent). The Negroes' proportion is the same as that of the native white of native parentage.

75 Years Of 'Freedom'



WHAT THEY HOPED TO FIND (C.D., Oct. 2, '37)

The Road to Freedom, which the artist depicts on the left, but not marked "For Whites Only" as in the South from whence they came. Escape from the balls and chains, and the highway of horrors. In the distance "Real Freedom" to work and enjoy the fruits of their labor as guaranteed them by 13, 14, and 15th Amendments and as their part of the "American Promise," and a chance to travel that road.



Negroes in Chicago, as in most northern cities, tend to be concentrated in a "Black Belt." This area of greatest concentration in Chicago accounts for at least 85 per cent of the total Negro population, while 5 "satellite areas" represent other census tracts over 50 per cent of whose residents are Negroes. There are, of course, Negro families scattered all over the city. This concentration has been partly voluntary, but the more important factor has been the operation of "restrictive covenants"[5] which bar Negroes from living freely in all parts of the city. It has been estimated that 95 per cent of the available living space outside of Negro areas is covered by such contracts. The net result of this enforced concentration has been to raise rents in the Negro communities to an abnormally high level, often accompanied in the northern end of the "Black Belt" by an unconcern on the part of absentee landlords with "keeping up" property, which, in this area of potential business expansion, is doomed to the more lucrative process of demolition. But the Negro area is not a homogeneous unit, and to understand the distribution of property and personnel of associations, it is necessary to view

briefly the major ecological divisions of the Negro community.

Over 90 per cent of all the Negroes in Chicago live in areas 50 per cent Negro and over. For purposes of convenience, the census tracts included in these areas have been grouped into 23 "districts" more or less homogeneous in their social characteristics. These in turn have been designated "Best," "Mixed," and "Worst" in terms of their desirability as residential areas.* (See Appendix II for a detailed discussion of the method used in classifying these areas.) The map on the following page indicates the extent of these areas and relates them to the distribution of churches. It will be noted that the "Best" areas (red on the map) tend to be south of Forty-seventh Street and in the southern satellite communities, Englewood, Morgan Park, and Lilydale, with one district in the Lake Street Area on the West Side. The "Worst" areas (blue on the map) tend to be west of State Street and north of Thirty-first Street, all areas of poor housing and close to the central business district. The "Mixed" areas (yellow on the map) represent an area in transition-"spotty"-with very good areas here and there. (See Appendix for a detailed discussion of the relation of these areas to clubs and churches.) There has been a constant movement of people toward the southern tip of the community, due partly to the demolition of houses in the northern end, although this trend is to some extent being reversed, and partly to the desire of the higher income groups to move into more desirable neighborhoods.

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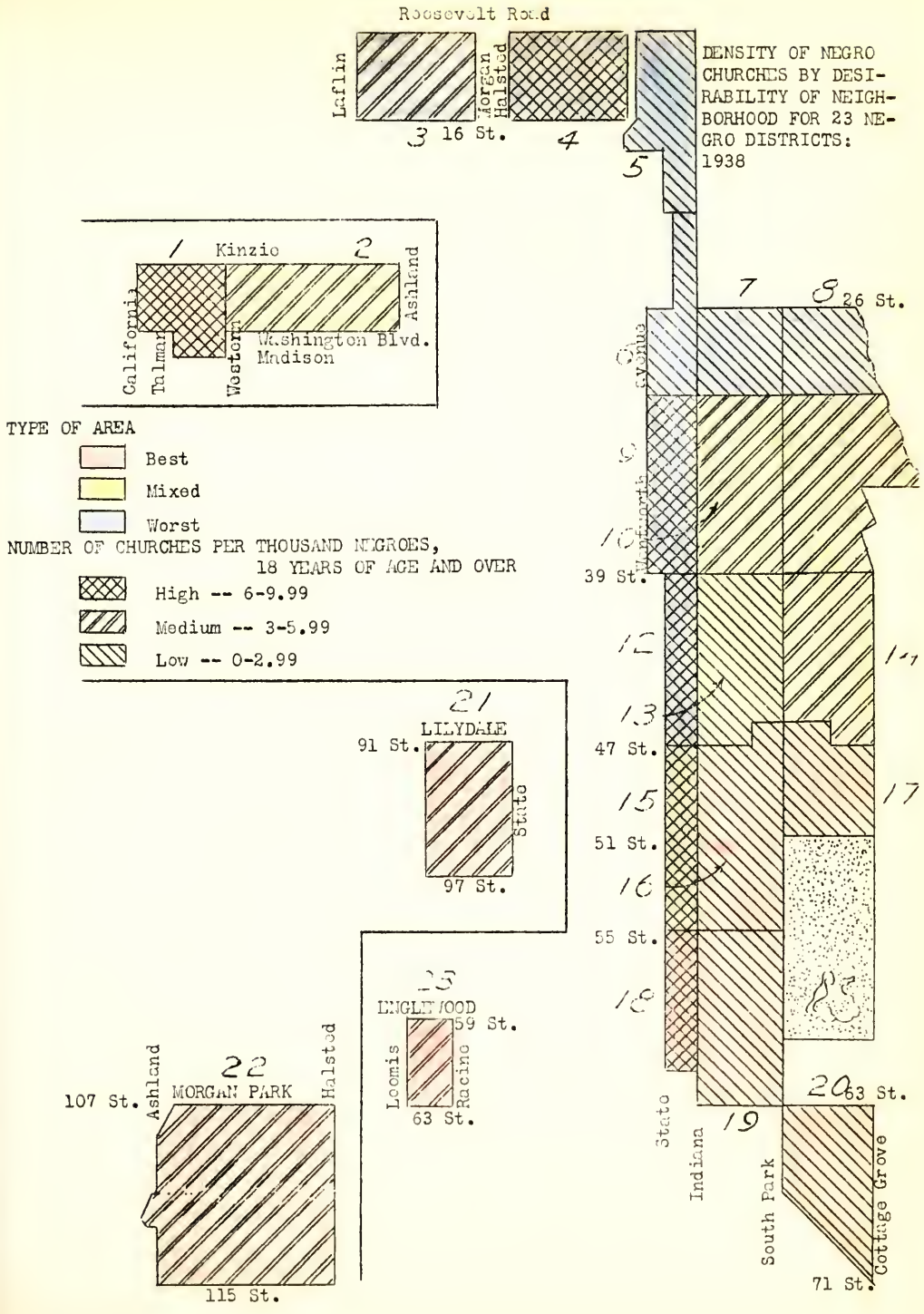
*Miss Mary Elaine Ogden has prepared an exhaustive analysis of the social characteristics of these twenty-three districts and the groupings. This is available in mimeographed form, "The Chicago Negro Community--A Statistical Description."


DENSITY OF NEGRO CHURCHES BY DESIRABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD FOR 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS: 1938
Roosevelt Road
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
3
16 St.
4
5
1
Kinzie
2
California
Talman
Western
Ashland
Washington Blvd.
Madison
7
9
26 St.
Wabash Avenue
8
Lafayette
10
39 St.
12
11
13
47 St.
15
17
51 St.
16
55 St.
18
20
63 St.
19
State
Indiana
South Park
Cottage Grove
71 St.
21
LILYDALE
91 St.
State
97 St.
23
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
22
MORGAN PARK
107 St.
Ashland
Halsted
115 St.
TYPE OF AREA
Best
Mixed
Worst
NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER THOUSAND NEGROES, 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
High -- 6-9.99
Medium -- 3-5.99
Low -- 0-2.99

NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER 1000 NEGROES 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AND PER 1000 NEGRO FAMILIES[a] FOR 23 DISTRICTS 50 PER CENT NEGRO AND OVER: 1938[b]

District	Number of Churches	Churches Per 1000 Negro Families		Churches Per 1000 Negroes	
		Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank
12	25	25.3	1	9.77	1
18	15	20.7	2	6.87	4
9	23	20.6	3	7.58	3
1	17	20.5	4	7.61	2
15	23	19.1	5	6.70	5
4	7	14.9	6	6.45	6
8	7	11.9	7	4.13	7
7	8	11.6	8	2.83	17
10	41	11.1	9	3.03	15
3	19	10.9	10	4.12	8
22	10	10.6	11	4.00	9
21	3	10.5	12	3.91	10
14	52	10.4	13	3.07	14
11	36	10.4	14	3.24	12
2	16	10.1	15	3.60	11
23	4	8.4	16	3.17	13
6	8	7.9	17	2.96	16
13	24	6.7	18	1.83	18
17	15	3.9	19	1.08	19
16	22	3.5	20	.96	20
19	15	3.7	21	.86	21
20	5	2.3	22	.77	22
5	--	---	23	----	23

[a]Population data compiled from 1934 Census of Chicago.

[b]Church data compiled from field survey, W.P.A. Project 3789.

Correlation coefficient between churches per 1000 families and churches per 1000 Negroes 18 years of age and over, .92.

NUMBER OF CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONAL GROUP, AND NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER 1000 NEGROES, 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, AND PER 1000 NEGRO FAMILIES, FOR 9 SECTIONS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: 1938[a]

Section of the Negro Community	District	Denominational Groups								Churches Per 1000 Negroes	Churches Per 1000 Negro Families
		All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
West of State St.	Total	94	48	7	1	1	18	14	5	6.54	17.8
	5	--	--	-	-	-	--	--	-	----	----
	6	8	5	1	1	-	1	--	-	2.96	7.9
	9	33	20	2	-	-	7	5	4	7.58	20.6
	12	25	12	2	-	-	6	4	1	9.77	26.8
	15	28	11	2	-	1	4	5	-	6.70	18.4
Lake St. Area	Total	33	15	4	2	-	9	3	-	4.94	13.7
	1	17	8	1	-	-	5	3	-	7.61	20.5
	2	16	7	3	2	-	4	-	-	3.60	10.1
Near West Side Area	Total	26	13	2	1	-	10	-	-	4.56	11.9
	3	19	11	1	1	-	6	-	-	4.12	10.9
	4	7	2	1	-	-	4	-	-	6.45	15.9
North of Pershing Road	Total	92	38	5	4	2	24	11	8	3.16	10.9
	7	8	4	-	1	1	1	1	-	2.88	11.6
	8	7	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	4.13	11.9
	10	41	13	2	2	1	12	6	5	3.03	11.1
	11	36	17	2	1	-	9	4	3	3.24	10.4
Morgan Park	Total 22	10	4	1	1	-	2	1	1	4.00	10.8
Lilydale	21	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	7.91	10.5
Englewood	23	4	-	[illegible]	1	-	1	-	-	5.17	8.4
Center of "Black Belt"	Total	153	66	19	13	5	26	19	9	1.66	5.8
	13	34	14	--	[illegible]	1	6	8	2	1.83	6.7
	14	52	26	6	1	1	10	5	3	3.07	10.4
	16	22	9	3	2	3	2	3	-	.96	3.5
	17	15	7	2	2	-	1	1	2	1.08	3.9
	18	15	7	1	-	-	5	-	2	6.87	20.7
	19	15	3	5	5	-	2	2	-	.86	2.7
Woodlawn	20	5	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	.77	2.3
TOTAL		420	188	38	25	8	90	48	23	1.64	8.6

[a]Church data compiled from a field survey of churches, W.P.A. Project 3789, 1938. Population data from 1934 Census of Chicago.

Just north of Fifty-first Street is Washington Park, perhaps one of the most popular spots in the city among Negroes for summer activities, with its well appointed field house and swimming pool. Between Washington Park and Sixty-third Street is the so-called "contested area"--a neighborhood into which the Negro population might naturally be expected to move, but which has been barred to them by restrictive covenants. A few families are now gradually filtering in. To the East are Hyde Park and Kenwood, the property owning interests in both of which have been opposed to Negro residents. Many of the major institutions, such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and all of the largest churches are still north of Forty-seventh Street, although the population trend is southward.

The Mole Negro area suffers from extreme overcrowding and doubling-up, and a much criticized phenomena is the kitchenette apartment, typical of Districts 16 and 18, where large flats have been cut up into one and two room apartments rented at excessively high rates. District 18, at present represents an area in a rapid process of deterioration due to the "kitchenette menace."[5]

One significant index to desirability of housing is revealed by the percentage of unheated homes. In all eight of the worst tracts, over a third of the homes are unheated, while in only three of the nine best tracts, do as many as a third of the homes fall in this class. Assuming central heating to be a value in an urban community, this would mean that the majority of the persons in these worst tracts are still in the "coal wood" stage.

How They Earn a Living

In 1939, one-third of the Negro population was on relief, 8.4 per cent on W.P.A., and about 40 per cent of all the cases of direct relief in the city were Negro.[6] As usual, they had been "Last to be Hired and First to be Fired," partly because of prejudice and partly because they were concentrated in insecure occupational groups. The following table indicates the distribution of idle skills among Negroes in 1935, ranked according to proportion which Negroes constituted of each class of workers on relief.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE WORKERS, 16-64 YEARS OF AGE, ON RELIEF IN CHICAGO: FEBRUARY, 1935[a]

Occupation	Total	Negro	Per cent
Domestic and Personal Service	22,380	11,430	51.07
Unskilled Laborers	24,325	6,755	27.77
Farm Operators and Laborers	1,090	245	22.48
Semi-skilled Workers in Building Manufacturing	36,555	7,765	21.24
Professional and Technical Persons	2,440	460	18.85
Semi-skilled Workers in Building and Construction	8,300	1,400	16.86
Inexperienced Persons	20,950	3,290	15.71
Proprietors, Managers and Officials	4,765	670	14.06
Salesmen	7,275	750	10.30
Skilled Workers in Manufacturing and other Industries	8,910	865	9.71
Skilled Workers and Foremen in Building and Construction	13,175	1,120	8.50
Office Workers	11,990	800	6.73
TOTAL	162,135	35,550	21.93

[a] Confidential Report to the City Council by the Chicago Housing Authority, 1937.

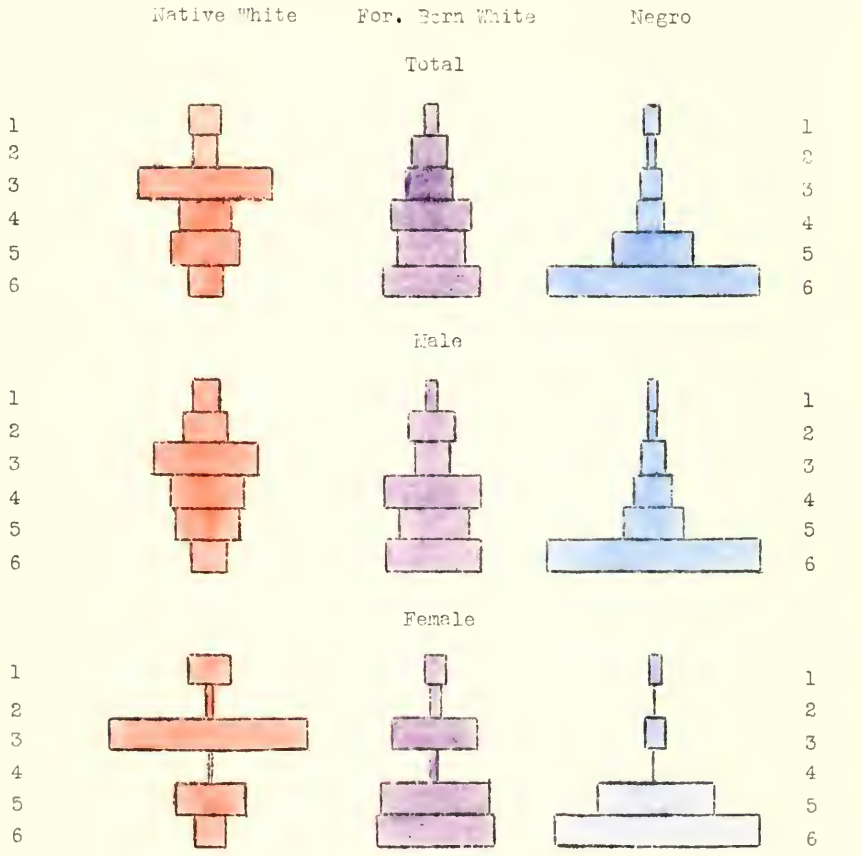
The distribution of Negro workers as revealed in the census of 1930 (in the early days of the depression) reveals certain significant facts about the manner in which Negroes earn their living, and gives an index to the "normal" distribution of Negro workers.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE GAINFUL WORKERS OF EACH NATIVITY AND COLOR GROUP BY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CLASS: 1930[7]

Social-Economic Class	Total	Native White	Foreign Born White	Negro	Other Races
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional persons	6.7	8.7	4.0	3.1	3.0
Proprietors, Managers and Officials	8.4	8.0	11.0	2.3	4.4
Farmers, (Owners and tenants)	-	-	-	-	-
Proprietors, managers and officials (except farmers)	8.4	8.0	11.0	2.3	4.4
Clerks and kindred	25.8	36.2	11.5	5.7	5.8
Skilled workers and foremen	15.7	14.1	21.7	6.4	3.7
Semi-skilled workers	19.0	16.2	29.3	21.2	14.1
Unskilled workers	19.4	9.6	26.5	58.1	66.4
Farm laborers	.2	.1	.3	.1	.2
Other laborers	10.5	5.5	15.9	22.4	50.0
Servant classes	8.7	4.0	10.3	35.6	16.2
Unknown	5.0	5.2	5.0	3.2	2.6

A study of the pyramids on the following page indicates a concentration of Negro men and women in the lowest brackets, a fact likewise true of foreign born women. Foreign-born men, however, are very well represented in the skilled labor categories. Negroes have a larger proportion of their workers classified as "professional" than one might expect, but it is important to note that preachers and musicians make up an important part of this

GAINFUL WORKERS BY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUP-1930



1. Professional persons
2. Proprietors, managers and officials
3. Clerks and kindred workers
4. Skilled workers and foremen
5. Semi-skilled workers
6. Unskilled workers

group, and many of them are not really "professional" from the point of view of actual formal training.* The large number of women in unskilled and semi-skilled pursuits is partially accounted for by their significant absence among proprietors, managers, and officials and skilled laborers. This, though, is true of white women, too, and the really significant differences are in the very small number of Negro women employed as "clerks and kindred workers."

The manner in which people earn a living is significant for this study since it limits the amount of time and money available for associational and church participation, and tends to control, to some extent, the type of groups in which people participate. Professional associations, trade groups and labor unions, for instance, are founded definitely on an occupational base, and tend to be "closed groups" interested in advancing the interests and protecting the prestige of the members. Even purely social clubs may be related to occupation as in the case of the Rexall Boys, the Palmer House Boys, and similar aggregations.[8]

The following chapters will reveal the influence of occupation and income as determinants of the amount and kind of participation which individuals are able to maintain. Economic factors, alone, do not determine amount and type of participation, since training, previous educational back-ground, and interests which have been developed influence, to a great extent, the organization which people join.

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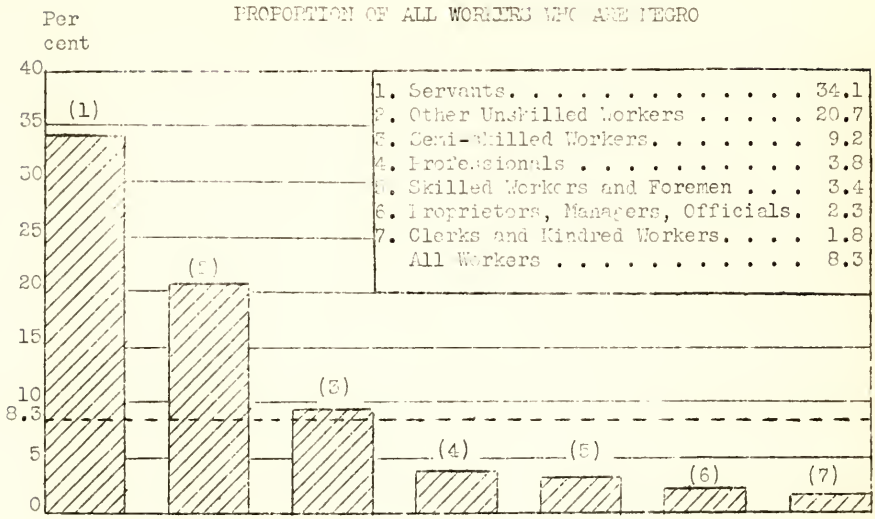
*The differing values attached to certain occupations in the Negro community and the fact that equivalent training is sometimes not demanded for a given profession, tend to weight this category too heavily.

ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO WORKERS COMPARED WITH THEORETICAL "IDEAL" DISTRIBUTION[9]



The above chart indicates the actual proportion which Negroes are of all workers in certain fields as compared with an "ideal" proportion which would theoretically obtain if there were no factors of racial prejudice and "tradition" operating to limit the free mobility of Negroes in the economic system (assuming, of course, that Negroes are equal in capacity to whites, desire better jobs, and are given sufficient time to allow for mobility. The latter is an important proviso, for the very fact that Negroes as a whole are a more recent migrants means that they, in the mass, had to start in at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy). The low proportion of proprietors, managers and officials, and clerks and kindred workers is one objective factor which gives rise to the great emphasis on "Bigger and Better Negro Business" in the Negro Community.

"Bigger and Better Negro Business"*

It is only natural in a commercial society such as that of the western world, that minority groups will tend to measure their "progress" at least partially in terms of their positions of control in the business world. This becomes doubly true when such a small proportion of Negroes are employed in offices in the city and when white merchants do the bulk of the business within Negro communities. Our historical sketch has indicated that the drive toward development of Negro business began early in the history of the city. (See chart on following page.) When Chicago was small, individual Negro business men had stores in the "Loop," but today, the majority of the Negro enterprises are in predominantly Negro areas, although, even there, they control less than 20 per cent of the total volume of retail business.[10] The present shopping center of the Negro community is Forty-seventh Street, having moved south through the years from Thirty-fifth Street until it is now at the center of density of the "Black Belt." On this street is the largest retail business owned and operated by Negroes. Institutions such as insurance companies, however, tended to stay toward the northern end of the area. Small retail stores are scattered throughout the community.

In addition to the regular businesses, there is a special class of enterprises which should be mentioned, "protected businesses" which, although nominally illegal, operate with the tacit consent of public officials. Dominant among these is policy, an intricate lottery system based on small bets, with the reputation of being "on the square," and, therefore,

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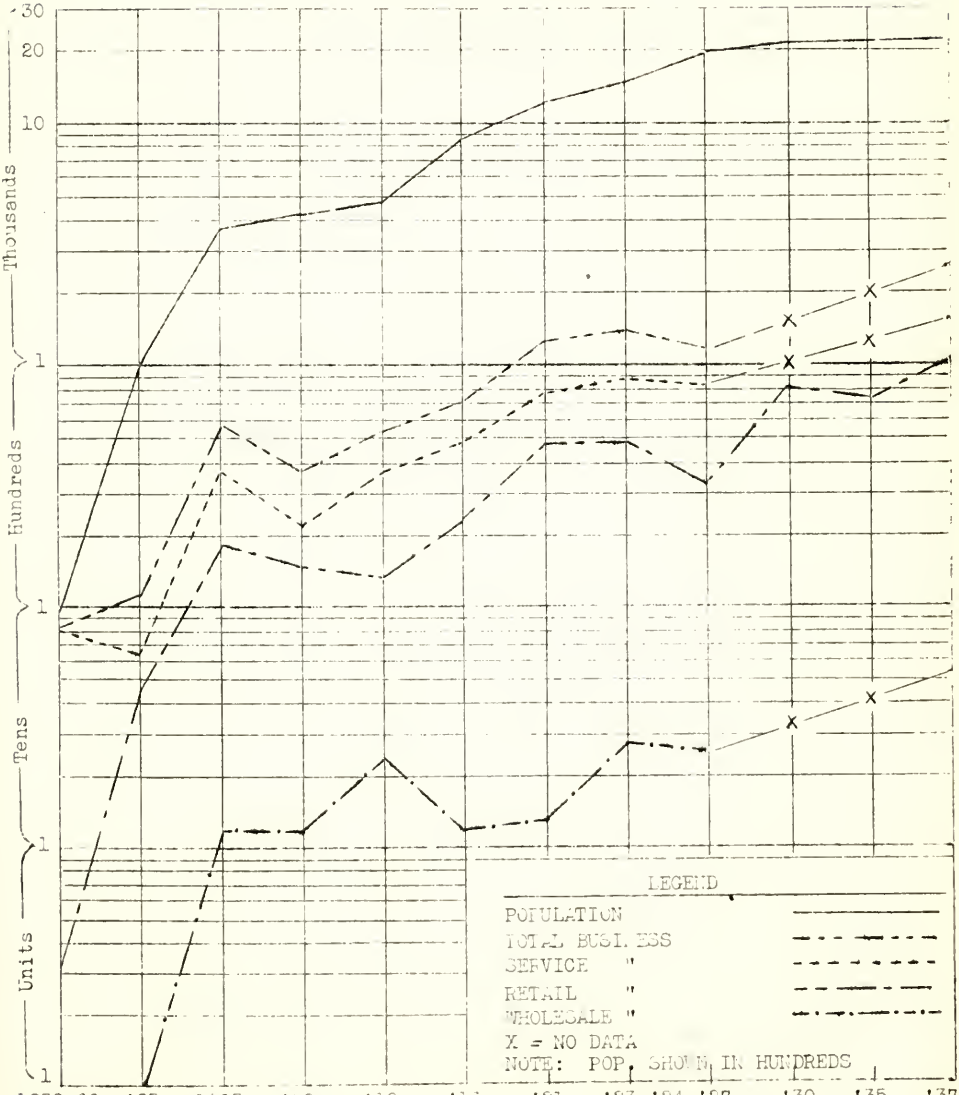
*Motto of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, a college fraternity which has adopted this as its civic program.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION AND TOTAL NEGRO BUSINESS FROM 1859-60 TO 1937-CHICAGO



(Drawn by Lawrence Langford.)

Data compiled under direction of Joseph Semper.

very popular. The policy business is reputed to employ about twenty-five hundred persons in every capacity from C.I.A.'s to janitors.

Because policy is a distinctive feature of Negro life in Chicago, it might be illuminating to examine it a little more closely.

In Chicago, policy playing is almost completely confined to the Negro communities. Very few white persons are either connected with the game in an official capacity, or play it. (Race horse bookies are far more popular in the white community.)* In fact, it is a common belief that at one time Al Capone pledged himself not to "muscle in" on the policy racket in return for the South Side beer monopoly.

The method by which the bets are placed and pay-offs made requires, in addition to "walking writer,"** a definite place of business--a "station," and there were, in 1938 at least four hundred and eighty-three of them in the area between Twenty-sixth Street and Seventy-first Street, Cottage Grove Avenue, and Wentworth Avenue. (This represents stations located by actual count. People "in the game" report the number as close to two thousand.)

> Many stations are operated openly and are easily recognized by even the uninitiated, with their "4-11-44," "DOING BUSINESS," "ALL BOOKS," and similar signs. People can be seen constantly going in and coming

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*Pari-mutuel betting is legal in Illinois, but the status of race horse betting in Chicago is still undetermined. An ordinance was passed in December, 1937, licensing brokers who would be permitted to forward money to the tracks. It is inoperative, however, pending judicial decision. Policy is illegal. (See Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. I.)

**A vocabulary has developed around policy, as well as an elaborate symbolism. A "walking writer" is a person who sells lottery tickets on the streets or from house-to-house; "4-11-44" means "Holiday Row"; a "book" is a specific lottery company; "drawings" are slips of paper on which winning numbers are printed; a "gig" is a series of three numbers played. "Catch" means "to win."

out, sometimes with the "drawings" in their hands, perhaps muttering and shaking their heads if their "figs" didn't "fall," or chuckling and smiling if they "caught". There are three drawings a day, and at busy stations, players form a regular queue---people getting results or placing bets. Many stations, however, are behind blank doors, in rear basements, or in homes and are known only to neighbors. The majority of the persons who play policy use stations, for in the early days of the game, the player had to depend on the honesty of a writer who very often betrayed this faith. Today, only those who wish to conceal the fact that they are playing a bet, or who live in neighborhoods which have been able to keep stations out, or who for other reasons find it inconvenient to get to a station, use the "walking writer."[11]

One observer describes a station as follows:

The station is located in the basement at _____, an apartment building. On entering the station, you notice, to the right, a pressing shop. Along the walls in front of the basement are three trough-like racks built in sections with signs reading A.M., P.M., and M.N. These are the receptacles for the drawings for the morning, the evening and midnight. These troughs have a section for every "wheel" for which the station writes. There are small blackboards on each side of the wall where lucky or "hot" numbers are placed. Each week, or every two or three days, as the case may be, advertisements of all the important wheels are placed in a conspicuous place. On a table is a large wall-paper book with "drawings" pasted in for months past. These drawings are for reference and are often used by patrons in determining their daily plays. In the rear end of the station, behind a barred cage, resembling a teller's window, the writers are stationed. A tailor's sign camouflages the station, the only sign in evidence on the outside of the building.[12]

Policy stations are located in almost every block between Thirty-first and Sixty-third Streets, Cottage Grove Avenue and State Street. As the northern and southern ends of the "Black Belt" are approached, however, the number of stations decreases. A detailed analysis of one census district reveals the fact that almost half of the stations are "fronted" by other kinds of businesses. Some business men will rent the rear of a store to a policy station for a sum approximating the monthly rent bill of the store hoping, too, that those who come to play may stay to purchase. A store-station combination may also, sometimes, be the result of the necessity for securing a "front" in a neighborhood where community sentiment is strongly against the game.

Churches

A very prominent feature of the Negro community is the group of 475 churches, some of which still bear upon them the marks of previous ownership--six-pointed Stars of David, Hebrew or Swedish inscriptions, or names chiseled on cornerstones that do not tally with the names on the bulletin boards. And on many of the business streets are "storefronts" betraying such indices of low economic and educational status as, perhaps, a misspelled or crudely lettered sign. There are also numerous quasi-religious institutions, such as "healers" and "spiritualists" offering "messages" and "readings."

The bulk of these churches are Baptist (claiming over 150,000 members), with Methodist and Holiness groups ranking next in order. (See following page for table.*) Chapter V will discuss "Churches" in detail.

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*The groupings used in the table are those devised by R. L. Sutherland for his "Analysis of Negro Churches in Chicago" (1928), and are as follows:

Group I - Baptists (all Negro control)

Group II - Negro Methodists (all Negro control)

Group III - "White Bodies" (predominantly white "orthodox" with some measure of Negro control)

Group IV - Community churches (all Negro control)

Group V - Holiness Groups (joint Negro-white control in some cases; all white in others)

Group VI - Spiritualist (all Negro control)

Group VII - Miscellaneous (all Negro control)

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NEGRO RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN CHICAGO, BY DENOMINATION AND DENOMINATIONAL GROUP: 1928 and 1938

Denominational Group and Denomination	1928		1938	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
TOTAL	295	100.0	475	100.0
I. Baptists	133	45.1	215	45.3
Baptist (No special designation)	98	33.2	141	29.7
Missionary Baptist	30	10.2	68	14.3
Primitive Baptist	5	1.7	6	1.3
II. Negro Methodists	35	11.9	42	8.9
African Methodist Episcopal	24	8.2	27	5.7
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	5	1.7	8	1.7
Colored Methodist Episcopal	6	2.0	7	1.5
III. White Bodies	22	7.4	27	5.6
Methodist Episcopal	8	2.7	6	1.3
Episcopal	3	1.0	3	.6
Presbyterian	3	1.0	4	.9
Congregational	2	.7	2	.4
Desciples of Christ	2	.7	3	.6
Seventh Day Adventists	2	.7	3	.6
Catholic (Roman)	1	.3	3	.6
Lutheran	1	.3	2	.4
Church of Christ Scientist	-	--	1	.2
IV. Community Church Incorporated	3	1.0	10	2.1
Community	3	1.0	10	2.1
V. Holiness Bodies	56	19.0	107	22.6
Church of God in Christ	24	8.2	27	5.7
Church of Christ (Holiness U.S.A.)	3	1.0	3	.6
Church of Christ (No designation)	5	1.7	1	.2
Church of the Living God	2	.7	4	.9
Church of God (Holiness)	1	.3	7	1.5
Church of God (No designation)	6	2.0	10	2.1
Church of God and Saints of Christ	1	.3	4	.9
Apostolic and Pentecostal	11	3.8	27	5.7
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World	2	.7	3	.6
Old Time Methodist	1	.3	1	.2
Holiness (Miscellaneous)	-	--	20	4.2
VI. Spirituals and Spiritualists	17	5.8	51	10.7
Spiritual and Spiritualist	--	---	47	9.8
I.A.M.E. Spiritual	--	---	4	.9
VII. Miscellaneous	29	9.8	23	4.8
Cumberland Presbyterian	2	.7	1	.2
African Orthodox	1	.3	1	.2
Christian Catholic	-	--	1	.2
Liberal Catholic	1	.3	1	.2
Others	25	8.5	19	4.0

Associations

Over 5,000 associations, indigenous to, or with branches in Chicago, exclusive of church clubs, were referred to in the Chicago Defender during 1937.[14] Approximately two-thirds of these were small clubs for recreational purposes, while the others were distributed among various types of civic organizations, college and high school alumni groups, lodges, professional and technical groups, co-operatives, labor unions, athletic associations, political clubs, forums, study groups, youth organizations, neighborhood and community clubs, musical units, etc. They ranged in size from lodges claiming over a thousand members to small clubs of four and five persons. In order to study these associations within some meaningful frame of reference, they have been classified into two large groups: (1) those whose orientation is toward satisfying the needs of its immediate members, who usually form some small in-group or segment of the society, such as a group of friends, a family, a profession, or a trade group; (2) those whose orientation is toward the larger society, as e.g., the total Chicago Negro community, "the race," the nation. These, in turn, have been subdivided according to the predominant type of activities pursued--instrumental or expressive.* The following chart indicates associations which clearly fall within the divisions:

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*It is evident that many associations will be on the borderlines if this classification is used, but is possible by a study of the manner in which the group spends its money and utilizes the member's time, to classify most associations. Names of associations are very deceptive, as are statements of purpose. The tables in Appendix I give the results of the detailed analysis upon which the classification are based.

TYPES OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CHICAGO NEGRO COMMUNITY

Types of Behavior	GENERAL ORIENTATION*	
	"Secular"	"Sacred"
	Sanctions: Age Sex Clique Class (Limited demands on individual)	Sanctions: Nation "Race" Community "Humanity" (Absolute demands on individual)
Instrumental	Unions Lodges Co-operative Societies Professional Societies Trade Associations Saving Clubs	Organizations for Racial Advancement Nationalistic sects Revolutionary sects Military and Patriotic Societies Money Raising Clubs of Churches Neighborhood Clubs Parent-Teachers Associations Missionary Societies Federated Clubs Junior League
	"Solving Problems" -Individual-	"Solving Problems" -Social-
Expressive	Social Clubs Social and Athletic Clubs Social and Civic Clubs Social and Charity Clubs Literary Societies Art and Drama Groups Music Groups	Churches: Gospel Choruses Choirs Young People's Groups Usher Boards
	"Having Fun"	"Worshipping God"

*Arrows represent tendency for activities and sanctions to incorporate elements of another type-association. Absolute demands on individual imply that the ends served by the group tend to be unquestioned, i.e., they are "sacred," and are phrased in idealistic terms. Limited demands on an individual are not considered as binding and unquestionable.

"Worshipping God"

The large number of churches indicates that for many people in the community, "worshipping God" is an important part of their scale of values. The feature which primarily distinguishes the church from other associations is its orientation toward "God" -- a fact expressed by the placing of worship at the center of church activities, no matter what the additional educational or social service features may be. About a third of the churches studied had only worship as an activity, although the overwhelming majority had some associated activities if no more than Sunday School, an usher board, or money raising clubs (popularly called "circles").[14] It is probably that an average Sunday morning finds at least 65,000 of the nearly 300,000 persons in the community in some church,[15] and people who do not attend church themselves frequently send their children to Sunday School as an integral part of their "right raising."[16] Church attendance is not an index, however, to church membership in any meaningful sense, and careful analyses of churches which carry a Sunday morning attendance of between two and three thousand persons, and which claim ten to twelve thousand members, indicates that their "sustaining memberships" are between 1,500 and 12,000 persons.[17]

The largest proportion of people who maintain relationships with the church, probably do so, except in very small churches, through sub-organizations, and many persons have their only relationships through them.[18] These range from purely social clubs affiliated with churches to cooperative stores. Yet, were it not for the primacy of the worship services, and for the "sustaining members" whose orientation is toward religion itself, the institution would not maintain itself.

It is this group that gives its time and money to the church, supporting rallies and drives, special efforts and "causes" with which even many of the smallest churches have been able to provide attractive atmosphere for worship, and with which the larger churches have beautified their interiors to an extent often unsuspected if one looks only at the outside of the building. Over three times as many women as men are sustaining members.[19]

"Having Fun"

Living in Chicago is not a mere matter of earning a living, (or receiving a relief check), for making money is only a means to an end--and one of these ends is what the people call "having fun."[20] The city offers a wide range of recreational patterns, and the selection of leisure time pattern can become a complicated process. It is further complicated by the fact that most pleasures involve the expenditure of money, and a given "pay check" has many prior claims upon it. The actual recreational behavior is further determined by education, habit, advertising, and the individual's conception of his role in society. It seems certain, that the major recreational needs of the community are met by commercial institutions such as the movies, ball parks, taverns, pool rooms, barber shops, and policy stations where for a small sum one may find both internal and external stimulants. A tabulation of leisure-time interests using a large sample, indicates that movies are mentioned most often with athletics and reading following next, and then dancing and cards. There are certain variations with social and economic status, opera, lectures, and "good" shows often appearing among responses of groups within the higher occupational and income brackets.[22]

These activities usually involve participation in informal cliques-- i.e., groups of people who "run around together," but who lack formal

organization. Among young people these are often courting groups. One of the prevailing tendencies among young people in their teens and among women in the middle income groups is to formalize these clique relations by organizing "social" clubs, "social and civic" clubs, and "social and charity" Clubs (all really social clubs), and among boys by forming "social and athletic" clubs.[23]

In addition to social clubs whose major activities are cards and dancing, and raising money for more cards and dancing, there are a large number of "culture" clubs, devoted to art, the study of languages, sewing and other crafts, Negro history, discussion of current problems, etc. ad infinitum. These are often sponsored by churches, social agencies, and other larger community institutions, such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Federated Women's Clubs.[24]

Church sub-organizations, for many older people and some younger ones, tend to organize activity within a "sacred" mold. Thus, one woman states:

> I am very active in church now. I am the president of the Sewing Circle. We meet once a week and sew things like pillow cases, men's work shirts, dresses, scarfs, ladies handkerchiefs, and a lot of small things like that. We sell those things and put the money in our treasury and help with the expense of the church.
>
> We do not have many men in our church. They just won't join like women. My husband is the man that beats the drum. He used to beat the drum in an orchestra before he was sanctified. Now he plays for the church.
>
> Our sewing circle is giving a program this Sunday. The subject of the play is, "Tempted and War." There are four features to this play; they are as follows: Beauty, Fame Wealth, Religion. The play is about a girl just entering womanhood and all of these things.[25]

An elevator operator with a grade school education demonstrates the possibilities of securing prestige within church sub-organizations, as well as the secularizing influence at work on church members:

> The church takes all of my time. You see, when I have a little time, I write songs for the church. I do not have much time for pleasure. We have two rehearsals every week and one prayer service. The young men's Bible class-- by the time I finish with that, the whole week has passed but I think I will join the Young Democrats' Club here in this ward. It is just getting started and I think I should join. I have many friends in that club and they have been trying to get me to join. I can afford to join some other club now as everything is going along swell at the church.
>
> I have been told some members drink a little and play a few cards, but I do not think it goes to the extreme. Before we got religion, one of the members of the church who was a friend of ours asked us to come to that church; that they were in need of people who could lead the work, but I did not have religion, so they convinced me that I should get religion, so I started out when I was convinced that I had religion, I joined the church. I was immediately put into the gospel choir as I could sing. After a while they elected me director of the group. When I first started with this group, it was very small and they did not sing with one another, so my first job was to train them to sing together, then to get new songs. Many of the songs that we sing I composed myself and after a few rehearsals we sing very good together. We have about 40 people in the gospel choir. I help with that group too. The reason that I am able to help effectively with this work is because I took voice culture for about two years, not regularly but whenever I had time, and I can sing very well, they say.
>
> Most of them are middle-aged people - about thirty women and ten men and myself. Most of these women are housewives, but they work for the church, as much as possible. They arrange their business so they can be at rehearsal about once a week and Sunday afternoon. All this group seems very much interested in helping to put things over and another thing that makes them all work is the fact that the pastor appreciates their work and he will speak about it in the church. This makes them all want to do something so they will be mentioned.[26]

What People Value in the Church

One of the most striking phenomena in the Negro community is the evident fact that denominational ties are weak, a fact attested by the great mobility from denomination to denomination and the wide range of memberships apparent within specific family groups. Yet despite this fact, and the rather ready

criticisms of the church which both members and non-members continually pour out to interviewers and spontaneously among themselves, the church does continue to exist. There are things which people value in the church. The following comments by persons from various denominational groups are typical of those who defend the church:

> I am a member of ------ A.M.E. Church. Churches are quite a necessity for I believe that it is through them that the people first got the idea that we must cooperate with each other. Take the church away with its teachings and I'm afraid we would not be able to live, because it is fear of the beyond that causes one to think of his fellow man and respect his feelings.[27]

> My opinion is, that the church is a good influence in a community. People seem to have a certain amount of respect for the church that no other institutions can enjoy. People who are members of churches are the ones that you find trying to accomplish something worth while and are very seldom in the clutches of the law.[28]

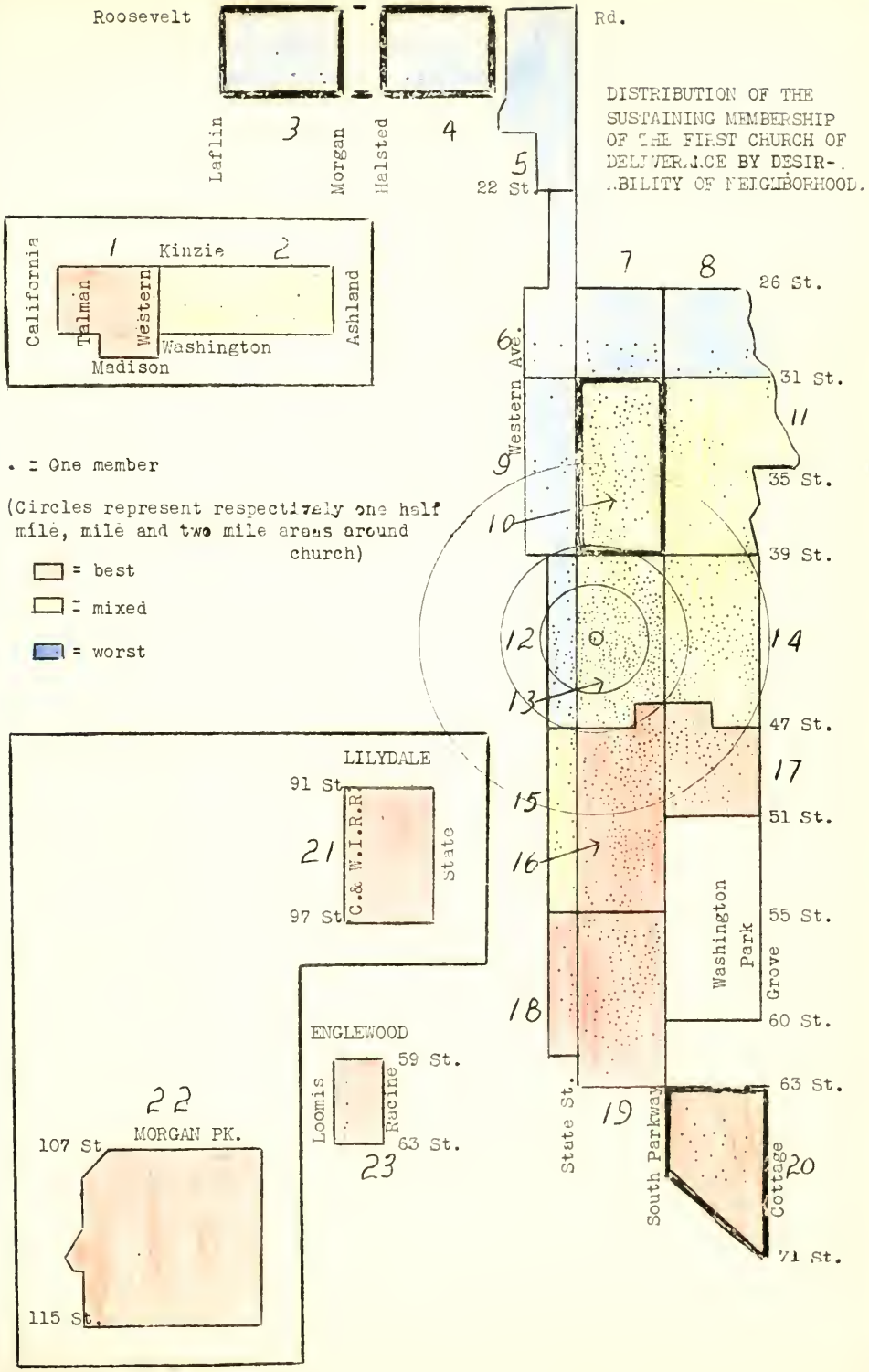
> My wife and I are members of ------- B. Church and get a lot of pleasure out of attending services. I think the church is a great necessity, for the people get something there that is resting and gives them a feeling of peace.[29]

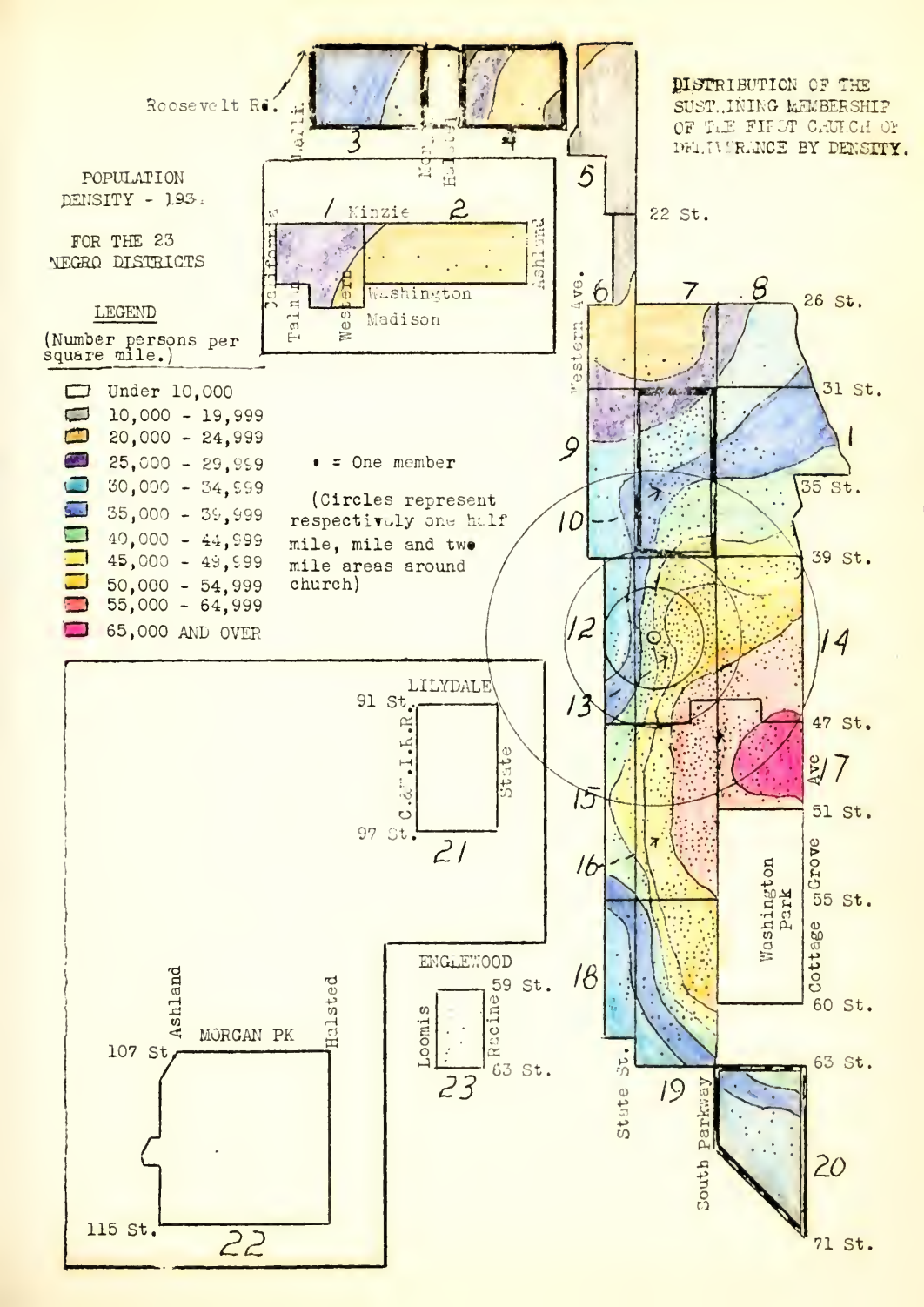
> My family and I are members of --------- A.M.E. Church. I think the church is a good influence. The store-front churches are all right, and I am sure they will be able to interest some people that otherwise would not go to church at all.[30]

> My whole family are members of ---------- B. Church. I am of the opinion that the church is a great need. It is hard to picture the amount of evil that would take hold of the world if for any reason the church would be done away with. I also believe that many folk have learned from the church that big things can be accomplished only by the joining of forces of a large group of people.[31]

Healing

Spiritualist--one of the most recently developed denominations. In addition to the usual evangelical hymns and preaching, has added use of altar, candles, and saints. Stresses healing and the "giving of messages." Many very small house churches. Only one large church, which in eight years has grown from a store-front with a very localized membership, to a congregation of several thousand scattered over the entire "Black Belt." (See maps on two following pages.)


Roosevelt
Rd.
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF DELIVERANCE BY DESIRABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD.
Laflin
3
Morgan
Halsted
4
5
22 St
California
1
Kinzie
2
Talman
Western
Ashland
Washington
Madison
7
8
26 St.
6
Western Ave.
31 St.
11
9
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
13
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
55 St.
Grove
18
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
19
South Parkway
Cottage
20
71 St.
. = One member
(Circles represent respectively one half mile, mile and two mile areas around church)
= best
= mixed
= worst
LILYDALE
91 St.
21
C.& W.I.R.R.
State
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
23
22
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.


DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF DELIVERANCE BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934
FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS
LEGEND
(Number persons per square mile.)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = One member
(Circles represent respectively one half mile, mile and two mile areas around church)
Roosevelt Rd.
Halsted
Kinzie
Washington
Madison
Western
Ashland
Wood
Paulina
22 St.
Western Ave.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
47 St.
Ave.
51 St.
Grove
Cottage
55 St.
Washington Park
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
South Parkway
71 St.
LILYDALE
91 St.
C.&E.I.R.R.
State
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
MORGAN PK
107 St
Ashland
Halsted
115 St.

Persons in the upper educational brackets tend to be very critical of the spiritualist churches. Adherents, however, defend them on the grounds that they meet their emotional needs. The following testimony of a woman at a healing service is a typical statement:

> I have listened to the Broadcast, but I have never been here. Today, I promised myself I would come to the meeting today. I didn't feel well as I have an annoying in my ears. My landlady didn't want me to come, but I felt I would get a great help. I desire the prayers of all.[32]

The orthodox churches do not stress healing (it is mentioned occasionally in sermons, and one Community church, one Baptist church, and perhaps a few others have made it a part of their program. Holiness and Spiritualist as well as Catholic and Christian Science churches do. There is some movement from the older orthodox churches toward these groups, although how much movement in the reverse direction goes on we cannot say. A random sample of the membership of the largest Spiritualist church revealed that almost half of the members had been Baptists, a third Methodist, and only a third had been converted to the Spiritualist church originally.[33] Most of these people had been in the city over ten years and tended to be beyond thirty-five years of age.

> Christian Science--One large church with well-appointed reading room is located on Fashionable Michigan Avenue, and tends to appeal to a higher educational and economic group than the Spiritualists. It was formerly a mixed church, but is now designated "colored."[34]

Testimonies recorded at the Christian Science church were similar in content, though not in phrasing, to those from the Spiritualist churches. Individuals express the value of the church to them, as follows:

> We think of men as spiritual and perfect. You know yourself that Jesus destroyed sin, healed sickness and disease and raised the dead, so with the correct understanding of Truth, why can't it still be done?[35]

A prominent social worker states another inviting feature:

> I don't care for all the emotion one finds in the average Negro church. I had never been so disgusted as when I went to Rev. -------'s church and saw him clown and carry on. I have a liking for Christian Science. The services are what I like.[38]

A seamstress "doesn't understand the teachings very well" but is "ardent in carrying out the ideas," while another woman "in ordinary circumstances" "attributes whatever success she has had to that religion."

A recent convert states with pride:

> A friend insisted that I read Science and Health. . . . . In a year I became a member. . . . . I enjoyed the manner in which the services were conducted, now it seems to be the only place I can worship. You can't just come in off the street and join our church. You must study nine months and pass an examination.[37]

Holiness

Holiness Churches--These churches emphasize "perfectionism," i.e., living a holy life, free from sin, a movement which began originally among the white Methodist churches. They are on the whole a low income group. They are older than the Spiritualists and have several large churches. They are popularly referred to as "sanctified." Their influence can be noted in references to "holiness" in Baptist and Methodist sermons. They tend to be more highly organized than Baptist churches. One Pentecostal church is now in the process of building a modernistic structure on Oakwood Boulevard, although the majority of the churches are store-fronts. These churches believe in "gifts": healing, "Holy Ghost," "tongues."[38]

The following comments illustrate the significance of the church to its members:

> I was raised Baptist. When I came here I didn't like their services so I went from church to church, but they was all the same. When a lady invited me to her church, an' when I saw Elder ------ healing a lady, I knew it was a work of God. I joined the church in 1928, but did not get the Holy Ghost until four years ago. Sweet Jesus! I'm happy to be a Child of God, He'll never let me suffer for bread.[39]

An adolescent girl stated:

> I like to go there, but I'm not sanctified. I like to play ball, they don't want you to do that or smoke, drink, dance or play cards.[40]

Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeoise epoch from earlier ones. All fixed, fast frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away, all newly formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into thin air, all that is holy is profaned.

-Selected-

The people in any community are continually responding to, and evaluating the social structure, and in doing so, they often express their reactions verbally. Many persons, members and non-members, who were interviewed in the course of the present study expressed critical opinions* of the church. The major criticisms in order of their frequency of mention were: (1) "Church is a racket," (2) "Too many churches," (3) "Too much emotionalism," (4) "No real religion among members," (5) "A waste of time," (6) "Ministers don't practice what they preach," (7) "Ministers and church won't preach against evils," (8) "Too much emphasis on money," (9) "Negro is too religious." Criticisms (3), (5), (6) and (9) are more frequent among the groups with a higher educational background.[41]

There are frequent statements to the effect that churches are too emotional, especially from those persons who have joined Presbyterian, Congregational, Lutheran, and such similar "white bodies" where there is a tradition of a more formalized and restrained ritual. Not all of the persons who belong to these churches have received a great deal of formal education, but they tend to identify with what is considered the proper way for people who have been "educated" to act. A large proportion, however, of the more successful business and professional people tend to join these churches and many socially mobile people send their children to them.

One of the frequent criticisms of the church is that it "ties up" too much money in non-productive property, and that this money should be spent to provide jobs for the "race" by the establishment of businesses.[42]

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*These comments have been presented, not as an indictment of the church, but as a representative sample of public opinion in the Negro community. Whether they are justified or unjustified, is not a question for this research to answer. The probabilities are that in many cases people are generalizing from a single instance of a bitter experience, resulting in a stereotype.

A typical informal comment of the older unchurched age-group reveals the manner in which several of these criticisms may be expressed in one conversation.

> When the writer approached Mr. ------ he was sitting on the steps of a Baptist church. This church is located on State Street. Mr. ---- inquired of the writer as to the purpose of my quest. I informed him that I was making a survey of Negro churches.
>
> He said, "Young man, you will not find the church of today like the church of years ago. I have seen the time when a minister would walk 10 or 15 miles to preach and maybe get $1.00 or maybe nothing.
>
> The church was a house of worship and not a money institution as it is today. I have not enjoyed a good service since I left the Southland.
>
> The meetings down home was soul-stirring and when the people would get happy they were happy.
>
> In Chicago the preacher's subject is money. He must have an automobile, a small flat and fine clothes before he can preach and then he can't preach.
>
> The trouble is that there are too many churches and too many different religions. Of course, I am a Baptist and I think that the Baptist is good enough for any man.
>
> Every little "jack-leg" preacher you see wants a church of his own and if not in our denomination he will call it anything. Just so he can exploit his people. "First, he tells them of the beautiful church that he is going to build when he leaves this store-front' and the truth is that he will never leave the store-front."
>
> At this point I asked Mr. ----- what he thought of our larger churches. He said that they, too, had their many faults. First, he said that the larger churches are too high-toned to serve God.
>
> They all want a big name and want to do everything on a big basis and don't have time to serve the people. They even have all high-class singing and not the old time soul-stirring songs that furnish the soul with happiness. The whole truth is that the people of today don't have religion. They only join the church. The big pastors live in luxury, fine cars, expensive clothing and all the comfort of life. It is said that some of our pastors have yearly incomes of $3 to $4,000 a year. That's too much money for any preacher.
>
> This just about ended the conversation as Mr. ------- had to leave for his dinner.[43]

Religion--A Racket?

The charge that "The church is a racket" is the most frequent one encountered. "Racket" is a typical "city-word" expressing a skepticism of motives which does not necessarily mean that a person absolutely refuses to cooperate with the church, but which allows either directly or by implication, disapproval of undue concern with money, and dishonest or unproductive use of it by church officers. This, a West Sider makes an exception of her church and preacher, while condemning the others:

> Do you go to the South Side to church?
>
> I go to Rev. X's church. It's a small church but he is sincere and not like the pastors of the big churches and most store fronts. I don't have much faith in any of them.[44]

Non-members used the term most frequently as in the case of a "sporting house proprietor" who observed "The church is getting to be too big a racket for me. I'd rather support my own."[45] Another infrequent attendant at a Baptist church, a janitor, stated, "You know churches are nothing but a racket."[46] while a business man chanted the same refrain, "I just don't care anything about the churches because I think they are rackets."[47] An optometrist was very bitter, "I was baptized in a Baptist church, but I don't go regularly. . . . . It's just racketeering on people's emotions anyway."[48] A young business woman likewise bandied the term, "I used to be a member of --------- Baptist Church, but have dropped my membership. One of my brothers is a deacon, the other brother, like myself, thinks the church is just like a racket."[49] A housewife in the lower income brackets admitted conversion by her husband, "my husband does-

n't like for me to go to church, he says it's nothing but a racket, that nobody gets anything out of it but the preachers. I'm inclined to agree with him now, but didn't at first."[50] One man stressed the racial balance by saying, "I think it's a racket--just like a lot of the white people's churches."[51] Even active church members sometimes use the ugly word as in the case of a dentist, who said, "I'm Episcopal--I believe churches are still useful--like anything else, there's a lot of racketeering going on in the church."[52]

Church leaders, publicly, did not use this harsh term, but both by direct statements and by implication touched on the subject making the same type of criticisms, samples of which follow:

> They want to line their pockets with gold and don't care how they get it. Preachers are supposed to be leaders of the people but they are fake leaders.[53]
>
> Ministers are not as conscientious as they used to be. They are money mad nowadays. All they want is the almighty dollar, and that is all they talk about.[54]
>
> When you are making plenty of money and share it with them [i. e., preachers] you are all right--you are a fine fellow. When the crash comes and you are not doing so well, they forget all about you.[55]

A former deacon, commenting on the practice of tithing stated, "It looks to me like a lot of graft, wanting people to bring in one-tenth of their earnings to the church."[56]

Many non-members charged "rack-teering" by implication also. Thus, a hotel maid, states:

> . . . . I just haven't made my mind up to join a church. Of course, I was a baptist at home. I attend church, but most of these churches are full of graft. You pay and pay money and the church is still in debt.[57]

Another informant, after pointing out his disgust at confusion of doctrines, stated, "I always think there's only one heaven. . . . . The biggest thieves run churches so what could it do about anything? Nothing!" Other comments varied in emotional intensity, but reflected the same general idea.

> WPA Employee, male: "I don't go to church and I don't belong to any other club or organization, they don't help anybody. All they want is money to keep the 'big shots' going."[58]
>
> McCormick Tractor Plant worker: "Preachers are nothing but bloodsuckers. They'll take food out of your mouth and make you think they're doing you a favor.[59]
>
> A former Garveyite: "I used to be active in the church. I thought we could work out our salvation that way but I found out better. Those Negro preachers are not bothered about their race. About all they think of is themselves." [60]
>
> . . . . our minister sported a new automobile, fashionable clothes, and built a beautiful home. I could never understand why the members never insisted on him enlarging the church.[61]

Closely related to the criticism that "churches are a racket," and used sometimes to substantiate the former charge, is the position that there are too many churches. A business man stated:

> I am a churchman and I believe the church occupies an important place in the life of any community. I am also positive that there are too many Negro churches in Chicago and too many fake preachers.[62]

The criticism often becomes focussed directly on the preacher's standard of living, as in the two cases cited below:

> You take some of these preachers--they're living like kings--got great big Packard automobiles and ten or twelve suits and a bunch of sisters puttin' food in their pantry. Do you call that religion? Naw! It ain't nothing but a bunch of damn monkey foolishness![63]

	Amount	Per Cent
Salaries	$1,289,818	43.2
Interest and reduction of Church Debt	683,856	22.9
Benevolence and Miscellaneous items such as Insurance, Light, Heat, Water, Publicity, Balance, etc. .	627,396	21.0
Church Overhead, including Education and Missions	196,478	6.6
Repairs and upkeep	187,418	6.3
Total . .	2,984,965	100.0

(From Mays and Nicholson's The Negro's Church, p. 171)

Summation:

1. That the average member gives little to the church in that the average expenditure per church totals sixteen cents a week for each reported member.

2. That 650, or 71.3 per cent of the churches have indebtedness; and that on the basis of the payments in 1930, it will take 13½ years for these churches to free themselves of debt.

3. That debts are high when compared with property evaluations and with church indebtedness for the country as a whole; that debts are high, in many churches, when considered in the light of the memberships' earning power; that section (North and South) makes a difference relative to church indebtedness and the amount of money raised; that debts vary according to the region of the country; that a few of the outstanding churches are free from debt.

4. That the buying of ready-built churches in the North during the migratory period strained church race-relations and hobbled the congregations with excessive debts.

5. That the larger the congregation the greater are the probabilities that the contribution per member will be less.

6. That the necessities of the church for salaries, interest, debts, heat, light and the like, consume so much of the money raised that little is left for a church expansion program.

7. That Negro pastors, in the main are meagerly paid.

8. That the vast majority of churches have no systematic way of raising funds.

9. That church records are poorly kept in the majority of the churches, almost wholly because paid secretarial help is inadequate; but in those churches that pay secretaries fair salaries and have their books audited, the records are better kept.

10. That the Negro church, on the whole, is a self-supporting institution.

Non-Participants

It might be well to recognize, however, that a large proportion of the people in the community do not participate in organized social life. Varied reasons for lack of participation are given, and an analysis of a sample of persons who do not participate[64] reveals reasons for non-participation in the following order of frequency:

(1) No reason given
(2) Lack of time
(3) Too expensive
(4) Dislike for social life
(5) Disillusioned with associations
(6) Activities are not worth while
(7) Moral disapproval of drinking, gambling cards, dancing (in case of associations having such an activity-pattern)

There was a tendency for business and professional people and domestic servants to cite "lack of time," and for church people to cite "moral disapproval."[65]

The most striking set of responses was that of adults in the lower income groups, where there was a noticeable tendency to blame lack of participation upon economic factors. Without positing this as the only factor, or as necessarily the most important one, we shall let them tell their story. Typical comments of a group of married women on relief who cite lack of money for club and church life, are as follows:

> I belong to church. I don't know who is the pastor, now, because I haven't been to church in over a year. The main reason I haven't been to church is because I don't have sufficient clothes to wear. They (the relief authorities) won't give me no clothes and shoes.
>
> I don't know just why they have been so hard to get things from here of late and as bad as things have been, seems as though they are going to be worse.[66]

I told you it is hard for me to tell some of the trials and tribulations that I have had to go through, no one really knows what I have had to go through but Jesus. They just give me a decent mattress to sleep on about three weeks ago.[67]

I am not able to attend church, but I call myself a Christian, and have plenty of hope, and faith enough to believe that as long as there is life there is hope and I believe there are better things for me in this life.[68]

I am interested but I don't belong to any clubs. I don't have the money to join clubs. I think clubs are for people who can afford to join them and pay dues. I go to the Parent-Teachers meetings at Douglass School sometime. I enjoy these meetings.[69]

I used to belong to Baptist church, but I don't go there now. I can't go anywhere looking like this.[70]

I don't attend church as often as I used to. You know I am not fixed like I want to be--haven't the clothes I need.[71]

At one time I was active in church, but now I can't dress well, so I don't go to church, only at night, because I haven't got anything to wear.[72]

I'm a lone woman and I have a hard enough time keeping a roof over my head without paying dues here and there.[73]

A woman who once belonged to two clubs, stated:

Well, I got so I wasn't able to pay my dues, you know how it is. Most of the people who attend the store-front churches are not able to keep up the dues in the big churches and to keep from being embarrassed they attend the store-front churches. They have to worship God somewhere. I am a member of church but I don't attend very regularly, because they want too much money.[74]

One woman said she didn't belong to any clubs now:

I plan to join a whist club in the fall. I don't have the clothes or place to entertain.[75]

Another, commenting on lodges, observed:

I have been asked, but not since I have been so down and out. You see, when people don't see that you can spend money and do things then they don't bother with you so much. I have good clothes but they are not the very latest fashions, but I try to keep clean and look nice all the time.[76]

Commenting on the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., the Urban League, and the N.A.A.C.P., a woman observed:

> I know about these things what they do and when I made money I used to give to all of these organizations. I have been asked to come to the Y.W. to meetings but I can't walk there and I don't have the money to spend. I walk to church.[77]

Older women often cite the church as their only avenue of participation, as in the case of a person who stated:

> I don't have the money to attend these things. All of my life I have enjoyed being around good people. I like to go to meetings but when you are broke and having all kinds of trouble you are just not in the mood to go to anything unless it is church. There is something about church that lifts me up and that is why I go. I don't belong to any church clubs.[78]

Even church, however, becomes a problem if there are several persons to be fed and clothed, as in the case cited below:

> I belong to Baptist church. My husband does not belong to church. I have been trying to get him to make up his mind to join some church but I haven't been able to get him to join any church.
>
> I don't belong to any church clubs. I haven't been to church in a long time. I let my children go to Sunday School. My children need shoes but they won't give them any shoes for some reason or the other, so I just have to do the best I can with the little money I get and buy second-handed shoes so that they can go to school and church. I received shoes the last time for my children year before last. It is hard to get second-hand shoes to fit the children. I tell you it is a shame the way we have to try to get along with the little money we get.[79]

And in some cases, at least, a mother may adjust by sending her children to a larger, more fashionable church, while she retreats to a store-front.

> Well, I prefer going to -----(small church), because it seems like I can go there without wearing the finest of clothes. See, I can wear a little wash dress to -----(small church) and feel good, but at-----(large church) it seems like all of the members put-on-the-dog (dress up in the latest fashion).
>
> -----(small church) is a little more closer than my church, and the people are not quite as dressed up as they are at my church. I used to go to -----(large church) regularly, but lots of things have happened since that time. I started the children when they were real small. They started in Sunday School there. They go every Sunday, too. Some-

> times the girls have a run in their stockings and they don't want to go. They are getting large enough to not want to go unless they are looking just right. I mean the girls. I don't blame them.[80]

Two West Side housewives state the necessity for limiting their participation to meet the financial demands, as follows:

> I belong to the Baptist Church. I am not an officer, but I once belonged to the Pastor's Aid Club, but I got unfinancial and got out. (Dues were ten cents per week.)[81]

> I don't belong to any clubs, but I am a member of the Pentecostal Church. . . . . I stay home most of the time. It takes money to stay in clubs and I am not able to make the proper appearance as far as clothes are concerned. My daughter is a member of some club. I don't know the name of it. She worries quite a bit when she can't get the things she wants most of the time. Young people worry about things more than we old people do. I don't worry because I have learned to take things the way they come.[82]

An analysis of the participation of children receiving aid from the National Youth Administration indicates a much wider range of participation than their parents have.[83] Even men feel that inability to keep up dues and appearances limits their participation, as in the case of the two men cited below, who said:

> I don't have any interest in any of those organizations now because I have no money to make the appearance and keep up the dues and what not. My wife is a member of church and she goes quite often.[84]

> I don't belong to any. I don't have the money to keep up appearance in any club or organization. You need money for everything, you know.[85]

Other men also blame the state of the exchequer:

> I used to belong to the Knights of Pythias, but when times got hard I had to get out.[86]

> I don't care for that stuff (organizations). They are just something to get money out of you.[87]

> Mr. X is a deacon at church. He doesn't belong to any clubs or organizations. (interviewer's comment)[88]

I used to belong to a club a long time ago, but money is too scarce now to belong to any club.[89]

It is impossible to ascertain how far these responses represent actual causes, but they are significant indices to the popular mind.

There are several checks on the amount and type of participation of persons in low income groups, however. The most important of these is an intensive analysis made by Joy Schultz of an area on the West Side with most of its population on relief and W.P.A. Her conclusion was:

> A very large proportion of both adults and sub-adults take no part in any sort of organized recreation, although, among adults there is much emphasis upon church activities. In fact, of the people who expressed their preferences in the matter of leisure- time pursuits, over half said that church work occupies all of their spare time. Associational participation is very limited, and so is attendance at dances, taverns and cabarets. "Going to movies" constitutes the second most popular diversion . . . . of a group of 345 people who were interviewed on the near West Side, only 23 reported affiliation with social clubs . . . . The scarcity of social clubs, or in fact clubs of any kind (except church clubs) is indicated by the comments of residents, some of which were as follows:* [90]

Elizabeth Johns, as a part of her study of migration and mobility, however analyzed the responses of 351 relief clients and found that seventy per cent claimed church membership, indicating that many non-attendants still consider themselves church members.[91]

In summary, our data seems to indicate there is an actual lack of organizational activity among the lower income groups and older relief population, except for church attendance, and this, too, tends to be affected. Younger people participate to a somewhat greater extent than older persons, but perhaps not so freely as at upper income levels.

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*A further check on this phenomenon was secured by an analysis of place of meeting of all social clubs reporting to the Defender in 1937 See Appendix II. This analysis showed an almost total lack of social club. activities and members in the "worst" areas.

"Solving Problems" -Individual-

Living in Chicago, for many people, constitutes a "problem"--securing food, clothing and shelter and enough money to maintain their expected standard of living and a decent burial of the dead. Insofar as people associate themselves together in groups based on economic status, occupation, or a common interest in solving economic and social problems for a group smaller than the "race as a whole," "the nation," "humanity," or similar large aggregate, this research has considered such an association as one devoted to "solving problems--individual." Where the emphasis is on some very large aggregation, the problem is referred to as a "social" one. Social problems will be discussed in the last chapter. "Solving individual problems" is briefly referred to at this point.

A population of predominantly low income workers might be expected to develop certain organizations whose major emphasis is upon mutual-aid. Negroes in America very early developed such organizations in the form of lodges and societies, and these have persisted to the present day, although their influence has been greatly weakened in the last decade and the mutual aid emphasis has been overshadowed by other interests.

There is some evidence to indicate that in an urban milieu with a strong political machine, however, there is a much greater tendency to rely upon the assurance value of the political machine rather than on various types of voluntary co-operation and on the insurance value of burial societies and insurance companies.[2] This is doubly true when under the impact of repeated crises the financial structure of such co-operative enterprises is seriously weakened.

Nearly all the prominent politicians and professional men, and a large proportion of the business men report lodge affiliations which were mentioned in the following order of frequency: Masons, Elks, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Woodmen of the World, and scattering of other organizations. Despite this tendency to maintain affiliation with lodges, few of these people were very active.[94] The general comments on lodges indicated a lessening of influence in the community, a fact confirmed by the diminishing space allotted lodges in the news and the difficulties in maintaining lodge property.[95]

Lodges*

A very well-informed undertaker, commenting on the rise of the commercial "burial society," described lodges as follows.

> The funeral system grew out of the failure of the Negro lodges to pay their death claims. The Negro was remembered as the man unable to bury his dead. Undertaker files were cluttered up with promissory notes in the form of death claims of lodge members. Small payments were being paid monthly on these debts of two or three years standing. A few remained in the vault until in some instances the entire family was wiped out.** [96]

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*Lodges are complex organizations with a program of racial advancement and social and recreational features as well as mutual aid. A recent addition to the fraternal field has been the interracial International Workers Order offering sick benefits and a semi-political adult education program.

**We have not, in this study, made any attempt to evaluate these charges of non-payment of claim. Our primary interest is in popular reactions to the associational structure - i.e. the meanings (true or false) which they have to people. These meanings affect behavior whether they are misunderstandings or not. One undertaker felt that the lodge to which he belonged was an exceptionally good one.

> I belong to one of the richest and most substantial Negro organizations in this country. We have never failed to pay a claim to our members for there is always plenty of money in the treasury and claims are usually paid within three days after they are filed. The death benefits are $150.00 burial. Sick benefits $5.00 for the first three weeks and $3.00 for the next thirteen weeks.[93]

A former "Most Worthy Matron" of a woman's auxiliary claimed over two thousand women members for her order in 1938, but commented:

> The organizations aren't anything like they used to be. Why before I joined, and when I first came to Chicago, they were very popular. If it wasn't one lodge turning out on a Sunday, it was the other one. Nowadays, you hardly hear anything about the various societies. It is only the members that are keeping it alive and boosting it. . . . . The depression had something to do with it,* for so many of the chapters got so weak until they connected with other chapters. At one time we had forty-eight chapters in the city. Now we only have thirty-two.[98]

She said that the young people were "not taking to lodges very fast," and that "These Negroes in Chicago are too busy to take time to join anything that will enlighten them."[99]

Another informant stated:

> I am a member of the _____ and have been for about twenty years. I was Exalted Ruler for five years. At the present time the lodge has lost a large number of its members, because they could not afford to pay the dues.[100]

> Lodges like most of the other enterprises have felt a drop in their membership, because the lack of work and the poor pay make it impossible to meet the expenses.[101]

An old age pensioner stated that he used to belong to several lodges: "I never cared to join any of them here. Down South, we carried an endowment on them. They don't give you anything here. They come and see if you're sick, that's all."[102]

Another former lodge man stated:

> . . . . I haven't been active for a long time now.

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*This former lodge official castigated the ministry for their opposition to lodges, "I have heard them stand up in the pulpit and denounce secret orders. They say plenty against them--'If the people would contribute half as much to the church as they do to the lodges, we wouldn't need those secret orders. We would take care of all our members."[97]

> There was some financial trouble when I stopped being active, but that's been cleared up. I am not able to take part now, but I am still a member. I have all of my papers and everything in that trunk over there, but it would be too much trouble getting them."[103]

Despite these comments on fraternal orders, all the "old line" lodges and several smaller groups are still strong, and have an aggregate membership of over ten thousand persons, mostly in the middle income groups. Their insurance value has tended to become less and less important but their assurance value is still evident,* and they serve as recreational outlets.

Co-operative Societies**

There were at the time of the study three functioning co-operative stores in the community as well as several study groups. All of these except one were based upon a membership of relief clients, and two store managers gave this as the primary reason why they were relatively unsuccessful. The only successful co-operative, The Peoples Consumer's Co-operative[105] was supported largely by persons with assured incomes,

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*One loyal lodge member observed:

> One thing I belong to is the F.F. You know, once you'r a Knight, you're always a Knight. Yup, when you put on this "em'ral" you're a Knight for the rest of your life. No matter whether you go up or down, you're still a Knight.[104]

**Considerable interest has been manifested in co-operatives. The Negro press has carried editorials pointing to them as "a way out" and praising a very successful co-operative in Gary. The Good Shepherd Congregational church in 1938 presented Dr. W. E. B. DuBois along with several other persons in a symposium, "Cooperatives--A Way Out for the Negro?", but even Dr. DuBois, a staunch protagonist of the movement, felt that its best chances of success lay in basing it in the middle income group. The Chicago Baptist Institute gave a course in co-operatives for church workers during the fall and winter of 1938, and several ministers stated their desire to begin buying clubs, but apparently no new ones have been started. The Urban League has placed the sponsorship of co-operatives in Chicago on its program of activities for 1939.

although the manager was attempting to extend the membership to other groups. It numbers 175 members, hires three clerks and a manager.

One of the co-operative stores, The Open Eye Consumer's Co-operative, is connected with Pilgrim Baptist Church, and 90 per cent of the members are from that church. The manager, however, feels that the persons able to buy regularly and in quantity live too far away from the church, (see Appendix II, Sustaining Membership of Pilgrim Baptist Church) and the people in the immediate vicinity are too poor to support the store. No member spends as much as fifteen dollars per month with the store.[106]

The Citizen's Non-Partisan Co-operative Organization of Olivet Baptist Church was started by eight unemployed people in 1936 under the sponsorship of a teacher of Workers Education, and had 65 members in 1938, three-fourths of them being relief clients. They do not have a store, but function as a buying club, purchasing from the Central States Co-operative Wholesale in small quantities twice a month. They have formed a study group for almost two years.[107]

Chain store competition killed Woodlawn's Synod Consumer's Co-operative, and low incomes are keeping the Ogden Park Co-operative in a very unpromising condition despite the devoted efforts of its founders.[108]

Trade Associations

Associations of business men, as might be expected exist in the Negro community, and their major emphasis is upon trying to stimulate Negroes to trade with colored business men, but the bulk of the small retailers are unorganized. A Negro Chamber of Commerce is in existence but embraces a very small percentage of the Negro business men.

Professional Societies

Professional societies, being typical of the upper income groups, exist not so much to protect economic interests as to protect the prestige of the occupation and to maintain the standards of the profession. Separate associations exist for each group of Negro professionals, and are an indirect expression of the reluctance of white professionals to mingle socially with Negroes. They are a direct expression of the community of interests which all Negro professional men have, serving, as they do, a predominantly Negro clientele, and having most of their contacts with Negroes. Many of these persons, however, also belong to the professional associations of the general community.

Labor Unions*

The Workers Alliance, an organization of the unemployed has ten locals in predominantly Negro areas, and keeps a skeleton organization of actual members. The numbers of persons affiliated with the Alliance varies, however, with the state of relief and W.P.A. During a period of reductions it becomes very active, and has sufficient adherents to picket relief stations and to hold demonstrations. At such times of crisis, ministers of the larger churches open their doors to the Alliance, gospel choruses supply the music at meetings, and considerable collaboration takes place with civic-conscious persons in the higher income groups. On the whole, however, the heavy Negro relief population maintains no continuous contact with the Workers Alliance. The unions of employed persons are discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

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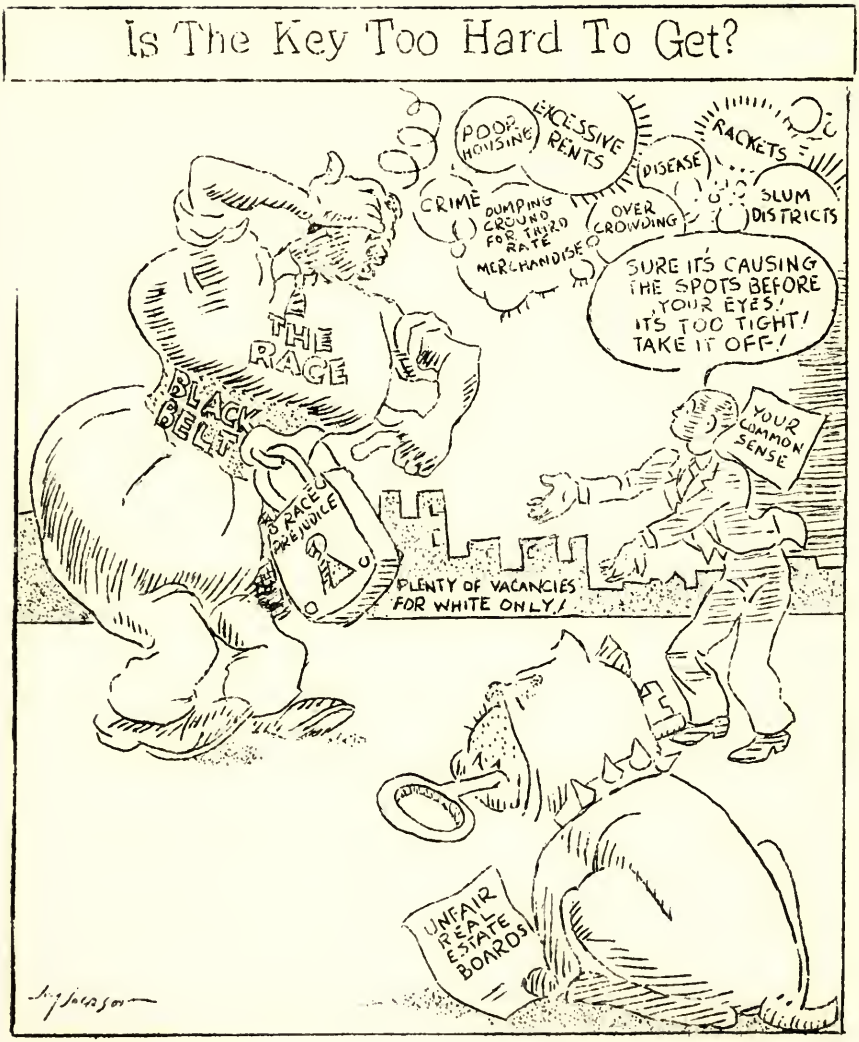
*Sometimes individuals feel that union membership is incompatible with church membership; others see no conflict.



Chicago Defender, 1937

Social Migraine

SUMMARY

The System of Social Classes*

The Chicago adult world is predominantly a "working class" world. Over 65 per cent of the Negro adults earn their bread by manual labor in stock yard and steel mill, in factory and kitchen, where they do the essential digging, sweeping, and serving which makes metropolitan life tolerable. Whether on public projects, or in private industry, the bulk of the employed adult Negroes, with a minimum of education and still betraying their southern origin, are toilers, living close to the soil, the animals, and the machinery, which undergird Chicago's economy.

In an era of depressed economic conditions many of them also "only stand and wait" at relief stations, on street corners, in pool rooms and taverns, in policy stations and churches for opportunities that never come and for the work which eludes both them and their white fellow-hopers. Negroes constitute about 30 per cent of the city's relief load, and about 40 per cent of all Negroes are on relief. Others are regularly employed

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*"Lower" and "upper" as used in this section refer to the general evaluations which the society makes of certain types of behavior and the possession of economic and social power. We can understand the term by analyzing what we mean when we say "bettering one's condition." It means "getting an education," "acquiring steady work," "being clean, well dressed, and well behaved," "getting legally married," etc. Extensive interview material indicates that all of the upper income groups, most of the lower ones, and even the people who share none of these traits think that these are the values they ought to espouse. In other words, the community itself, not the researcher, has defined the meanings of "upper" and "lower."

and constitute the backbone of the "middle class" characterized by its emphasis upon the symbols of "respectability" and success. A large part of this working class is in a "lower" social position, however, characterized by less social restraint and without a consuming drive for the symbols of higher social prestige.

Singing and drinking; praying and dancing; fighting and playing; fearing and hoping; sometimes crying, sometimes laughing, the Negro masses exist as "motherless children, a long way from home." (As the blind minstrel strumming his guitar on Forty-seventh Street puts it:

> "Motherless children have a hard time
> When their father are /sic/ dead. . . . .)

Not alone by choice, but tossed by the deep economic tides of the modern world, and pressed and molded by a usually indifferent and occasionally unkind white world, and bounded by an often unsympathetic Law, the Chicago lower social classes live, move, and have their being in a world apart--a fast deteriorating semi-ghetto. They grumble much in reflective moments; sometimes they fight with the ballot or more immediately tangible weapons; but whether existing in a customary passivity, or momentarily aroused by some outrage or the heat of political excitement, the Negro community is continually expanding--expanding as each new generation is birthed, and as friends and relatives flock cityward, from the Kingdom of Cotton--where the throne has collapsed under the insurrectionary forces of a shrinking market and the lower production costs of the Southwest. This "lower class" constitutes an important part of the human environment in which Chicago's youth is growing up.

The "Upper Class"

At the top of the social pyramid is a scant 5 per cent of the population, an articulate social world of doctors, lawyers, school teachers, social workers, successful business people, and the frugal and fortunate of all occupational classes who have climbed up with difficulty and now cling precariously to a social position consonant with the money, education, and power which the city permits them to possess, but which at every point is challenged by the same forces that condemn 65 per cent of the people to poverty and restricted opportunities. Carrying the responsibilities of the major Negro institutions, co-operating with sympathetic and liberal whites, who give them financial and moral support, this Negro upper class becomes symbolic of racial potentialities, and despite the often caustic criticisms levelled at them from the classes below, they go their way supplying goods and services to the Negro community, seeking to maintain and extend the opportunities for themselves and their children, snatching some enjoyment from the round of bridge and dancing, securing cultural development from the arts and sciences, and displaying all of the intra-class conflicts which a highly competitive social and economic system have made characteristic of any group in a marginal position--as this "upper class" surely is. Yet, they have a measure of satisfactory adjustment which makes their life pattern fruitful if measured by any of the objective standards of "success," except for certain disabilities which all Negroes share.

The "Middle Class"

About one-third of the Negro people are in a social position between the "uppers" and the "lowers," an amorphous "sandwich-like" middle class. Trying with difficulty to maintain "re-

spectability," controlled by the class above into which they (or at least their children) would rise and the group below into which they do not wish to fall, they constitute an important section of the Negro community. Many of them are in the white collar pursuits, more of them must do manual labor, a few of them are very secure in civil service jobs. Released somewhat from the restrictions of poverty, they do not find it necessary to emphasize the extremes of religious or recreational behavior, nor to tie their lives to the rhythm of the policy drawing or the very occasional relief or W.P.A. check as do the lower classes. Life to them has some stability and order; expectations for their children and for their own future can be predominantly this-worldly; and the individual psyche is given form by the church and associations whose dues they are at least able to pay with some regularity and from whose functions they are not barred by inadequate clothing or "education," both formal and informal.

The "Shadies"

But the class structure of the Negro community in Chicago is not a simple tripartite system, through which individuals move by attaining the class behavior pattern which their occupational and educational position permits. Within each class there is a group proportionately smallest in the upper class and largest in the lowest class, which has secured and maintained its position by earning its income in pursuits not generally recognized by the community as "respectable," but which are a part of the institutional life of the city milieu. The marginal position of the Negro in the economic system and the traditional role of the Negro community as an area for exploitation and risque recreation by the white community has brought into existence and maintained the whole

complex of "protected business"--illegal enterprises winked at and preyed upon by co-operative politicians. This complex is composed of the "policy" business, prostitution, and allied pursuits, and is intimately connected with the legal, but none-the-less "shady" liquor interests and cabarets. Thus a considerable proportion of each class is connected in some respects with these businesses, and the more mobile individuals are able to rise even to the top where they challenge the position of the upper "respectables" who, as one student has phrased it, "find it politic to accord them some measure of social recognition." These "upper shadies," in turn, are by no means entirely scornful of the opinions of the "upper respectables," and seek to secure prestige in the eyes of this group by assuming many aspects of their behavior pattern, and by attempting to become "race leaders" even to the extent of supporting the associations of the upper and middle classes, becoming the patrons of the arts, and by entering legitimate business.

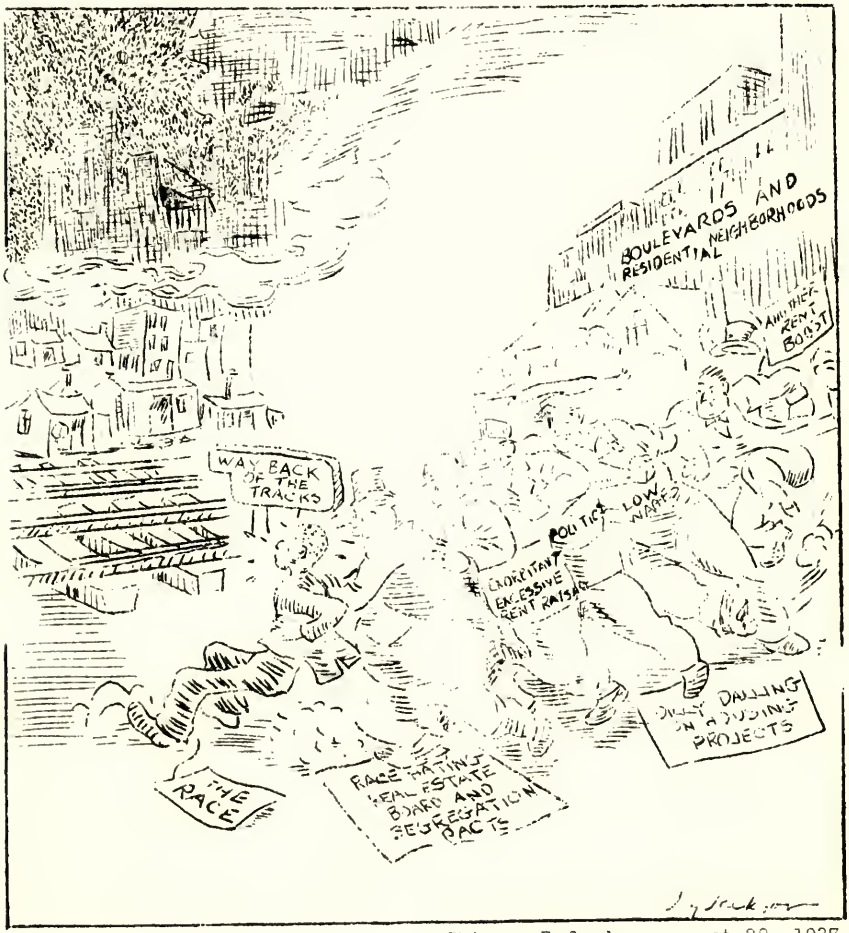
Significance of Church and Associational Life

While social classes are readily definable both from the standpoint of their recognition as realities by the inhabitants of the community, and by an objective study of the characteristics and relationships of the population, their existence as social groups with a consciousness of class solidarity is recognized only in crisis situations or when discussion about class has been stimulated. Class is a reality, but consciousness of class is more or less subliminal. Class relationships while a reality are seldom conceptualized as such by individuals in the community. Identification with other social groups such as the family, associations and churches is a much

more conscious act, except perhaps for the upper and middle classes when they face the prospects of choosing marriage partners, or occupations, or when some flagrant "lower class" behavior causes them to consciously dissociate themselves from the lowers to whom they feel bound by the ties of race, but whom they repudiate from the standpoint of class. Associations and churches thus become significant indices to economic class and status levels, and through the sanctions they exert become the guardians of the standards of "refinement" and "respectability," and the modus viviendi for upward social mobility.

Associations and churches also are important, not only because they serve to define the social classes, but also because they provide a means for co-operative action between them. This is particularly true of non-recreational associations where people of diverse educational and economic status find it possible to co-operate in some pursuits upon which they agree. Even despite the fact that class lines are sometimes drawn within an institution, and positions of control are assumed by those with superior educational and financial resources, common action is possible. Thus, within a lodge or a church, the trustee board and the major offices may not include the "masses," but the "masses" do control elections in many cases and exercise sanctions upon their leaders. Many people of the lower educational and income groups, however, prefer their more comfortable standards of expression and financial methods, and thus there are many associations and churches without their share (for better or worse) of what the people sometimes call "dicties" and "big shots," and in which the "common people" go their way unmolested by middle and upper class controls.

'A Move Afoot'



Chicago Defender, August 28, 1937

Like all immigrants they entered the wage structure at the bottom and the city gates at the slums. The combined pressure of economic and social factors has kept the masses of them still there. A few have wound their way out. As more learn the "ropes" of the city--who are friends and who are enemies, how to use power to get both material gains and prestige, how to co-operate with other groups of "the disinherited," they are able to resist the forced pressure against their "advancement."

. . . . if we want something to which the name "social science" may be given, there is only one way to go about it, namely by entering upon the path of social planning and control. Observing, collecting, recording, and filing tomes of social phenomena without deliberately trying to do something to bring a desired state of society into existence only encourages a conflict of opinion and dogma in their interpretation.

- John Dewey -

CHAPTER IV

SOLVING PROBLEMS

Whether a person recognizes "social problems" in society, and the form such problems take where they are seen, is directly associated with the values which the individual accepts. To some persons there are no "social problems"--contradictions of their scale of values upon which human intelligence and will can be exercised for a solution. Such are the religious escapists who see salvation only in an act of divine intervention; the fatalists who visualize only some ultimate collision with a far-off star; or those who take escape in the whirl of "policy wheels," "swing," or alcohol. Other persons feel that as man has muddled through in the past, so will he in the future, meeting the coming days as they appear. Others share an integrated philosophy of social change with its programs and activities. Some "just vote." All persons, however, whether they "believe" in the possibility of control or not, ACT as though they did, and this action leads either to the formation of associations with instrumental aims and activities or to the employment of associations with non-instrumental aims for instrumental purposes.

Most people interviewed in the Chicago Negro community felt that something was "wrong" with the world--even those religious persons who felt that the wrong was their own sin, or the sin of some group to which

they belonged.* The specific content of this "wrong" varied with many factors and was directed in many directions -- either outward at white people, other Negroes, the "government," the "devil," or inward at the "unredeemed" self.

It is evident that on the whole the value-system of the Negro community tends to be concerned with (1) securing the means of subsistence in order to obtain a minimum standard of living (2) obtaining the traits of the Western European civilization which give status to the individual and the group (3) elaborating compensatory myths when either (1) or (2) are not immediately attainable or when actual and progressive deprivation exists. It might be suggested further that the present position of the Negro in the spatial order and the social system, as well as the memories of the past,

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*The most general behavior among religious people is to state a belief that only God can save the world, but to act as though human control is possible:

Thus a Community church pastor states, "People go to mediums and fortune tellers trying to find out what they should do to gain health, wealth, and love and other things but what they need is to be filled with the spirit of the Holy Ghost, God can do anything. Nothing is impossible and we need God in our lives more abundantly. We not only need God as Negroes but all people need God. If we had the spirit of God in us there would be no prejudice in the land. There would be no religion of the whites and blacks as we seem to have today. . . . . I haven't exactly been a member of the "Y", the Urban League and the N.A.A.C.P., but I have contributed to all of them. My work here keeps me very busy but I am absolutely in accord with anything that these organizations attempt. I will give more when the opportunity permits me to do so. You see I have the whole responsibility of the church and house on my hands. It is a job I'll tell you."[2]

Even a Holiness preacher combined the two points of view, "Men have strayed so far from God that they can't find the way back and the church must help them to get back. . . . . I think that a good neighborhood organization would go far in helping to solve this problem but we colored people will not do that. The church could do much in helping solve such problems if all the colored churches would ask their membership to contribute one dollar. Some would give more, then we could pool all the money

tend to make all Negroes think in terms of "Race"--of advancing it, protecting it, loving it, and hating it. A sort of "racial patriotism" is in existence, which is fostered by voluntary organizations and the press. But although all Negroes share the disabilities of being Negro, as well as, whatever gains may accrue from the position, the individual may also be a member of a family, a church, associations, a work-unit, an age-group, a sex group, all of which compete for his loyalties. And most important of all, there are definite cultural-economic divisions based on jobs, wealth, education, etc., which divide the community into social classes with differing ways of life, value systems, interests, and attitudes toward the fact of "Race." Out of a dual contradiction, viz., democracy vs. race prejudice, racial solidarity vs. segmental interests, grows an almost unanimous demand in the Negro community for the most prized (and most necessary) value, UNITY--the unity which will permit Negroes to present a united front to an assumed hostile white world and to "advance the Race."

The dominant ideology in the Negro community is what one might call moderate racialism. It is the prevailing set of verbalizations used by the professional and business classes in their "public" life--i.e., through their associations and churches, their newspapers, literary productions, etc. Connected with these beliefs are certain overt behavior patterns which sometimes coincide with the beliefs and often do not. Moderate racialism accepts all the basic assumptions of American life as

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and open up any kind of store and tell all of our members to trade at that store and then if such a thing was done in one year, we would have a lot of money and maybe we could open up a factory and employ a lot of colored people. . . . . You look at the children that are coming out of school nowadays--they have no place to go and look for a job but we do not think about the future at all. I have spoken to many people in this neighborhood about that line but they have not come around yet so I am just waiting.[3]

embodied in the Declaration of Independence, The Constitution of the United States, the democratic-humanitarian-Christian tradition, and the folklore of nationalism and capitalism. Thus, Negroes are entitled to all "rights," there has been a progressive extension of their liberties through the joint fight of Negroes and sympathetic white people (usually philanthropists and capitalists who have given to Negro schools, Y.M.C.A.'s, etc., but whose interest is now tending to wane due partly to the feeling that Negroes are getting able to stand on their own feet, and partly to taxes and the depression.)*

Moderate racialists believe that this seventy-five year old fight has had two aspects--(1) the successes of individuals who took advantage of their opportunities, educated themselves, acquired property, and thus became of service to the "race," and (2) the collective effort of Negroes in their various organizations, through wise political and economic action and the support of Negro business. There has always been a large number of Negroes who have been a "drag" on the race partly because they've been unable to get a chance to "rise," partly because they have preferred to remain in a state of ignorance and vice. The duty of the Negroes who are "up" is to try to help these people to advance themselves and to secure their support for Negro professional and business men, who are able to provide employment for them, and who can serve as symbols of what the "Race"

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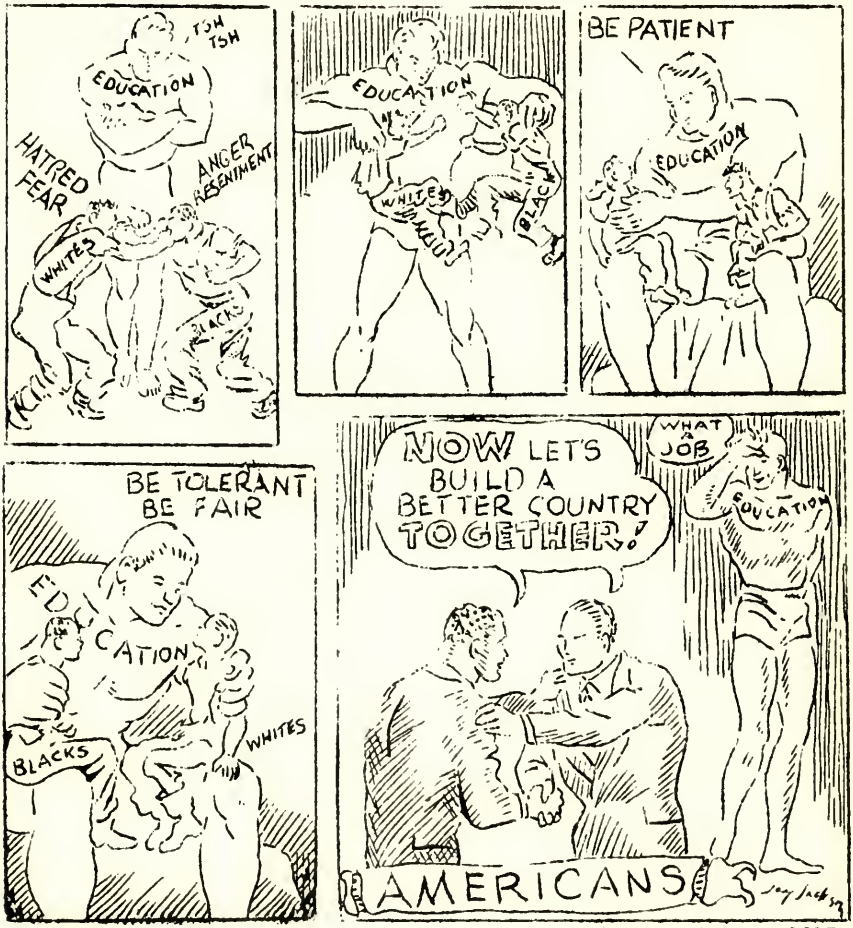
*A minister expressed this prevalent idea in the following form:

> We must make better use of our resources. We are wasting time and energy. Another thing, the Negro can not depend on the white man for aid and assistance as he once could. Now, Negroes are driving fine cars, and opening businesses, and the white man is saying, "Let the Negro carry himself." Because of this, we have lost things due to our bragadoccio. We have lost friends.

A Good Idea. But It Will Take Time



Chicago Defender, 1937

THE AMERICAN WAY

The more articulate section of the Negro community has not lost faith in "The American Way." They express belief that "education" for Negroes and "whites"--all along the line, in school, on the job, in the political arena, in labor unions, in churches--education broadly interpreted to mean profiting from experience will teach Negroes and white people patience, tolerance and fairness, not the caste virtues of an imposed patience, an amused tolerance, and the fairness of "noblesse oblige," but the democratic, comradely expressions of equals confronting equals.

can do.* To carry out such a program race pride must be stimulated--not excessively--but enough to provide sanctions for individual and collective action.

The Race Riot of 1919 and several subsequent disturbances, represented attempts to secure what Negroes considered their "rights". There is a definite non-political machinery for "solving the race problem," based on a struggle for "equal rights" under the constitution, and for "racial advancement" through education, morality, etc. It is only in extreme crisis situations that this accommodation mechanism is abandoned (on a widespread scale) for violence or Utopian solutions. As has been described in the preceding chapters, the early method of "problem solving" in the Negro community was to entrust it in a somewhat informal manner to the politicians, the business men, the preachers, and persons having contact with influential white people. Churches, lodges, societies, clubs, in the meanwhile,

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*Some social club mottoes express these ideals, as, the following:

F = FEMALE; M = MALE

Cat's Paw Social Club (F), "It Can Be Done."
Clique Club (F), "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."
Dictators Club (M), "Be A Live Wire."
Exclusive Twelve (F), "United We Stand."
Rocking in Rythm Queens, (F), "Together We Stand, Divided We Fall."
Gay Vogues (F), "To be the Better of the Best."
Les Jardin des Roses (F), "Forward."
Mamenka Social Club (F), "Lift as We Climb."
Thirteen Bella Donna's (F), "Don't Dodge Difficulties, Greet Them, Meet Them, Beat Them."
Sunshine Club (F), "We Build A Ladder by Which We Climb."

A study of the mottoes of over one hundred and fifty social clubs reveals emphasis upon "virtues" in the following order of frequency: (1) Aspiration (2) Fidelity (3) Aid to the unfortunate (4) Co-operation (5) Conviviality (6) Sincerity. Others indicated were peaceableness, service, sophistication, industry, humility, punctuality, unity, dignity and courtesy, and in one or two cases, thrift.[5]

all conceived of themselves as contributing to "racial advancement" by training Negroes in the virtues of sobriety, thrift, and ambition. For the recalcitrant minority lacking "race pride" there was always the Law in this world and Hell in the next. When rights were infringed upon, the respected leaders of the community called mass meetings, petitioned, protested, mobilized political power and in many cases achieved their objectives. The newspapers served as the racial watch-dogs and an editor-politician could usually "fix things." Before the migration neither naked power nor strong political pressures were necessary to secure sufficient adjustments to make living tolerable, except in the Pre-Civil War days.[6] It was assumed by thoughtful white people that Negroes were trying hard to "advance," that they should be helped along. It was assumed by Negroes that there were possibilities of advancement. Then came the migration and the Riot. It was imperative that something be done to re-define the working relationships between Negroes and whites, and to that end the Commission on Race Relations was appointed at the suggestion of the Urban League. The result was a definitive statement of the Negro problem in Chicago and a statement of a modus vivendi for amelioration.[7]

All of the accepted leaders in the community adopted this as a working program, whatever their private reactions may have been, and it forms the core of what might be called "moderate racialism," as contrasted with the "extreme racialism" of the Garveyites. There was a certain division of labor in the implementation of this program, such groups as the Urban League and the Federated Clubs concentrating on "welfare," "uplift" and social work, and the N.A.A.C.P. on the more vigorous defense of civil liberties. The twenty years between the Riot and the depression represent a

period of relative racial "peace," during which there was no serious breakdown in inter-racial relationships.[8]

Most of the matters exercising the attention of the Negro community during these years might be subsumed under the following broad headings:

1. RACE-RELATIONS - maintaining and extending areas of inter-racial co-operation

2. HOUSING - securing adequate housing and housing services at reasonable rentals for the Negro population

3. EMPLOYMENT - placing Negroes in all occupational categories for which they were trained, and securing further opportunities for training

4. EDUCATION - securing adequate educational facilities in areas predominantly Negro, and protecting the children from exposure to prejudiced instructors

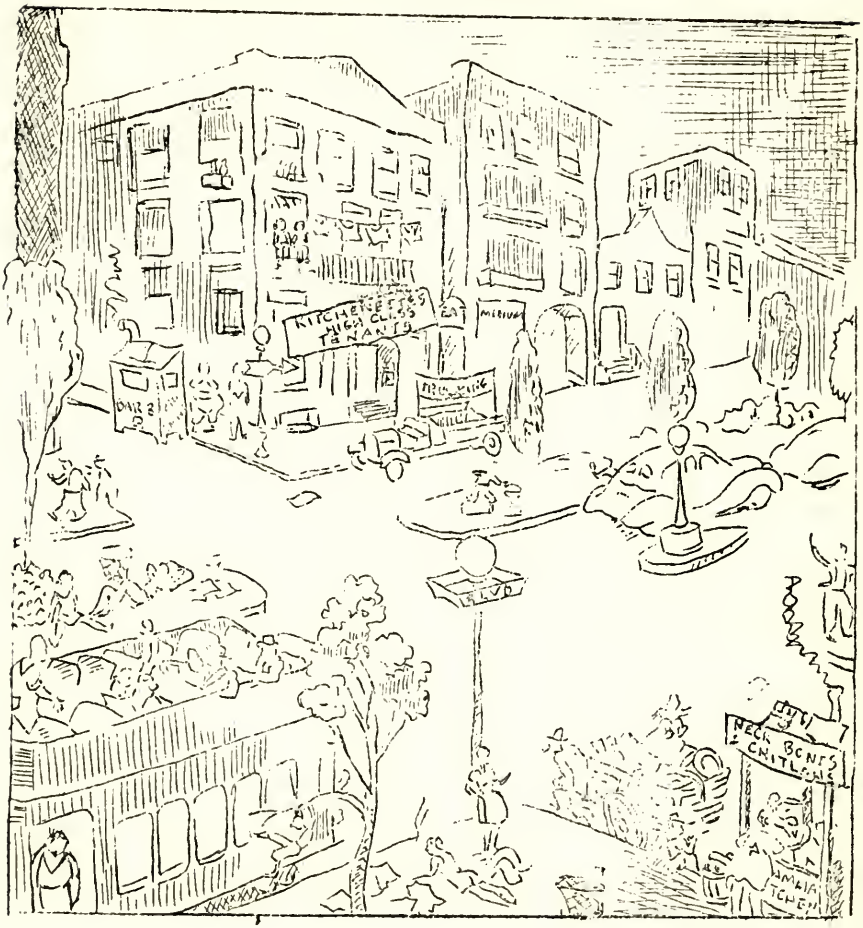
5. SOCIAL SERVICES - securing adequate facilities in all areas predominantly Negro

6. COMMUNITY MORALE - mobilizing all community forces to control "vice," "improve neighborhood," prevent juvenile delinquency, etc.

7. CIVIL LIBERTIES - defending the right of Negroes to exercise all their privileges as American citizens, and securing favorable special legislation where it does not now exist

The following charts indicate the manner in which the Urban League, correlating the efforts of Negro and white moderate racialists, attacked two of the important problems during these years.

What Fools Some Mortals Be



Chicago Defender, 1937

Negro leaders and community institutions often use satire and ridicule to bring the less civic conscious "elements" into line. Southern traits ("chitterlings and neckbones" sold on the streets, for instance) are condemned in the cartoon as well as street walking, juvenile delinquency, general untidiness and the "kitchenette menace."

"SOLVING PROBLEMS" - 1919-1929

Employment[9]

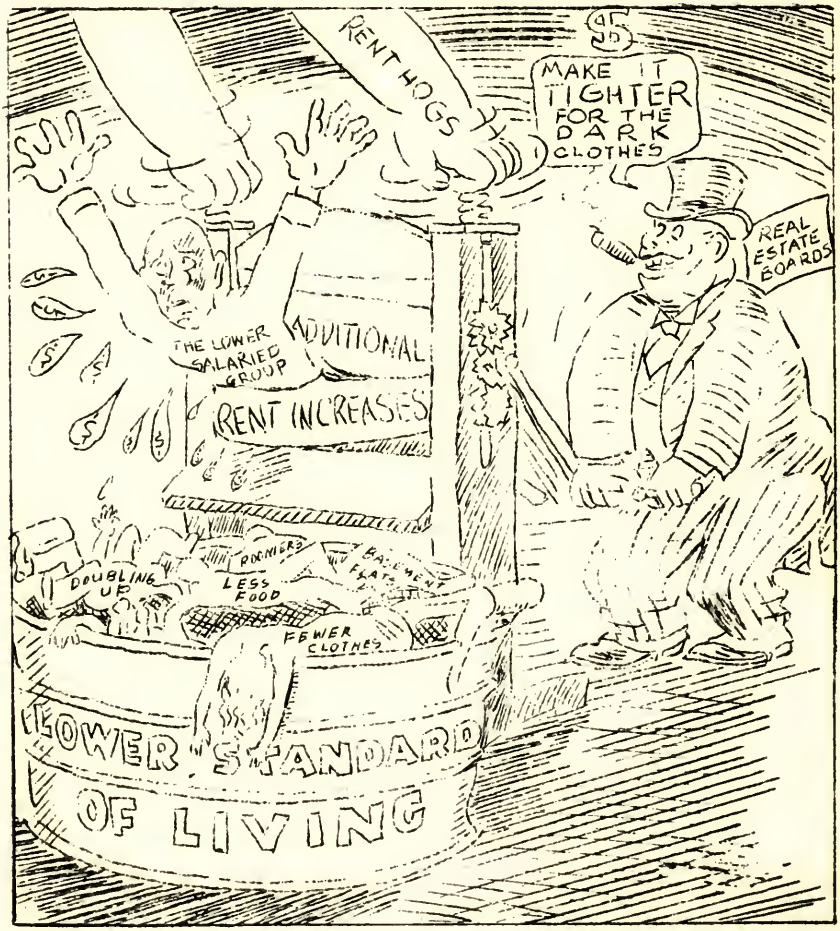
Year	Activity
1919-20 (Boom)	Migration still heavy according to Defender. The League placed a total of 15,000 persons--1200 girls with Sears, Roebuck as white collar workers; 600 with Montgomery-Ward; 100 with Rand, McNally; 250 Chicago Lamp; 200 Alter Lamp; 100 Sopkins Dress; 200 Nachman, Springfield; 75 Cure Hat Works.
1921-22 (Depression)	"Heavy loss of above positions." Many small businesses spring up in Negro community manned by these girls.
1923	Peak of Negro employment in Stockyards, 33.6 per cent of total.
1924	----------
1925	"New era in employment field for Negroes." U. L. secures employment of Negro clerks at South Center Department Store and Meisner Brothers in Negro community.
1926 (Depression)	----------
1927	Urban League begins detailed study of industries employing Negroes.
1928	----------
1929 (Depression)	Heavy loss in employment of Negroes and whites begins.

"SOLVING PROBLEMS" - 1919-1929

Community Morale[10]

Year	Activity
1919-20 (Boom)	Began "agitation for cleaner streets and alleys, began organizing neighborhood improvement clubs." Emergency relief during Riot.
1921-22 (Depression)	". . . . called together the pastors of the leading churches and organized for emergency relief . . . . scores of churches served food to hundreds of men, women, and children." Packers and wholesalers supplied food; Urban League coordinated relief ". . . . there was practically no duplication of effort, and yet no one in the community went without food and shelter."
1923	———
1924	———
1925	———
1926 (Depression)	[illegible]anized relief. Set up emergency lodging houses. Worked closely with police agencies in city.
1927	Dr. E. Franklin Frazier makes study of "The Negro Family in Chicago," under direction of University of Chicago.
1928	Earl Lesser makes study of "Community Factors in Negro Delinquency."
1929 (Depression)	Churches and other community institutions begin to give relief. Co-ordinated by League.

'Through The Wringer'



Chicago Defender, 1937

"J'accuse"

Negroes and the Red International

The Riot also revealed that in addition to the "sane" leadership in the Negro community--the moderate racialists--there were at least two other types of leaders appealing for the support of the unadjusted urban Negro mass, viz., the revolutionary radicals and the extreme racialists. The revolutionary radicals of the day were the I. W.'s--Industrial Workers of the World, who with their motto, "He who would be free himself must strike the blow," painted the dream of the disinherited's industrial commonwealth, the

> . . . . world of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers, a world where there will be no poverty and want among those who feed and clothe and house the world; a world where the word "master" and "slave" shall be forgotten; a world where peace and happiness shall reign and where the children of men shall live as brothers in a world-wide industrial democracy.*[11]

They addressed pamphlets in 1919 to the "colored workingmen and women":

> To the black race, who, but recently, with the assistance of the white men of the northern states, broke the chains of bondage and ended chattel slavery. . . . . .
>
> The Negro is oppressed. . . . . The workingmen are oppressed. . . . . Race hatred is played upon by capitalists to keep the two races at each other's throats thereby thwarting their efforts at improving their conditions. The I.W.W. union will unite all of the oppressed of all colors and all languages. One big union of defensive brotherhood, not only in America but throughout the world.[12]

But, the summons fell on deaf ears, for another powerful voice speaking a much more familiar language and unembarrassed by a white skin, was sounding a call for ONE GOD, ONE RACE, ONE DESTINY, and those Negroes whose deprivations and insecurities were pronounced enough to make them unsatisfied and anxious to act, turned their eyes to Africa.

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*The average person felt that there was a fundamental inconsistency between this dream and the violence which they were willing to use to obtain it. The I.W.W. felt that their "oppressors" would not give up without a struggle.

Chicago and the Black Internationale

The surge of the folk to the city had its disillusioning aspects--rebuffs, on the one hand, by the white community which sometimes fled from Negroes as from the plagues, which struck back at them savagely in race riot and labor struggle, and which often segregated them and discriminated against them; and on the other hand, by the Negro upper and middle classes, the small group of lawyers, doctors, school teachers, postal workers, and semi-professionals which, because of its economic security, and superior training, its longer time in the city, and sometimes its color, had been able to build its own world aloof from the great untutored and poverty-stricken mass--treating them when sick, getting them out of jail, selling to them, meeting the more organized segment of them in church on Sunday but unable to associate with them socially due to a wide educational and economic gulf; a group which often scorned them despite its talk of race-pride and race solidarity. There were also the depressions of 1920 and '21.

Thus, alone in the city, where the acids of modernity had begun to weaken the other-worldly faith brought from the South--there came to them a new evangel, Black Nationalism, with its African Zion, and many embraced the faith as delivered to Marcus Garvey, whose stirring call to "The Beloved and Scattered Millions of the Negro Race" found its response in the thousands who between 1920 and 1925 joined the Universal Negro Improvement Association dedicated to FREEDOM, MANHOOD and NATIONALISM. A few even more militant souls raised the flag of race war on the streets of Chicago.

Marcus Garvey, Jamaica born and English bred, had begun his movement in 1919:

> He conceived the notion of establishing trade relations with Africa, and accordingly organized a steamship line. It was a large undertaking. There were few large Negro investors, and if money was to be raised it had to come in numerous small amounts rather than in a few large ones. Again, if commercial relations were to be established, there must be intelligent Negroes at the African end. The effort grew into another "Back to Africa"* movement. To increase interest it was necessary to campaign actively, using appeals calculated to arouse the great mass of Negroes. This Garvey did with such success that his "Back to Africa" slogans created a far larger movement than his original commercial proposition.[13]

The movement reached its apogee in Chicago around 1925 when there were, according to an officer, two "divisions," one on the West Side and one on the South Side.

> The South Side division was the largest and really represented the U. N. I. A. in Chicago.
>
> Each division was chartered by the parent body in New York. The above named officers were called the advisory board, but really functioned as an executive committee, received $37.50 per week. All other officers served without remuneration.[14]

A factional struggle split the group after Garvey's arrest and imprisonment in 1925, and according to a former active member,[15] one group

> . . . withdrew from the division and organized the Garvey Club with headquarters at 4600 South State Street.
>
> Desperate efforts were made to revive interest in the organization. Parades and picnics were planned but when the parade did not turn out so well the picnics were abandoned. Within the official group directing the division a struggle started over retrenching on salaries and rent and publicity expenses. Failure to adjust these fiscal matters led to the self-styled resignations from official positions.

A W.P.A. researcher, reporting on the U.N.I.A., in 1937, stated:

> The U.N.I.A. has not, however, disappeared entirely, and as far as the number of divisions is concerned it is very much alive. There were six divisions in Chicago in 1938; Paston Research Society; Garvey

Club; Division No. 117; Isaiah Morter Division;* Division No. 172; and Peace Movement of Ethiopia. (All of these, together, include less than a thousand persons.)[17]

A very active Chicago leader says of the U.N.I.A. program at present:

> The program is fundamentally the same. Of course, Mr. Garvey does not take anyone into his organization now. He accepts only trained people now. It doesn't matter how much schooling or degrees one has, he must graduate from Mr. Garvey's School of African Philosophy. Last summer, Mr. Garvey held his school at Toronto, Canada.**[19] . . . . . The U.N.I.A. does not pay high salaries as it once did. You have to earn what you make now.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Most of the members in the Peace Movement are former members of the U.N.I.A. The 49th State Movement was carried on by former U.N.I.A. people.
>
> All this stuff sprang up out of the Garvey movement. The Garvey movement divorced the Negro from the traditional. Garvey was sent away. Some Garveyites became communists. Some became other things.[20]

Among the more important "splinter" groups was the Peace Movement to Ethiopia (now, itself, split) designed to aid Ethiopia in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1935-36. Other groups with this nationalistic orientation were also active in the community during the years of this study, and Winifred Ingram, research assistant, commenting on them, has stated:

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*The Defender, in November, 1939, carried an article under a four column headline referring to Isaiah Morter, from whom this division was named:

15-YEAR COLOR BATTLE OF GARVEY FACTIONS
OVER $25,000 IS AT END

Morter was a wealthy native of British Honduras who died in 1924, leaving $25.00 to his widow and $300,000 to the U.N.I.A. The widow sued. The U.N.I.A. split. Fifteen years later, the courts awarded the money to a faction headed by a New York physician, to Mr. Garvey's great chagrin.[16]

**The "Black Man," Garvey's magazine carried an ad in the December, 1937, issue:[18]

1,000 Students Wanted!!
The School of African Philosophy
(Marcus Garvey, D.C.L., Principal)
5, Beaumont Crescent, W. Kensington
London, W. 14 - England

Race pride, in its extreme manifestations, forms the ideological basis of such associations as the highly nationalistic Universal Negro Improvement Association with its "Back to Africa" longings; The Iron Defense Legion with a score of uniformed black Fascists; the Forty-Ninth State Movement, with its desire for an all black state; the Pan-Pacific Movement with its dream of an eventual day of decision between the dark-skinned races and the white; and the Moors who teach that black men in America must "regain" their Arabic language and their lost faith in Islam. These picturesque organizations with their highly symbolic concept of blackness are one result of the system of Negro-white relations existing in America and, in some cases, are splinter groups of the U.N.I.A. Some of these organizations such as The Ethiopian World Federation, Inc., are the result of Italy's aggressive war against Ethiopia and express black nationalism in the form of organized sympathy for and cooperation with Ethiopians. One purpose of the Federation is "to promote love and goodwill among Ethiopians at home and abroad and thereby to maintain the integrity and sovereignty of Ethiopia and to disseminate the ancient Ethiopian culture among the members."

Not all these organizations are interested in establishing a nation for Negroes in Africa, however, but some stress "reviving the moral and spiritual lives of the sons and daughters of Ethiopia in America." The Iron Defense Legion sets up as its program the establishment of commercial enterprises in "Afro-American" communities, the teaching of military science and tactics and Negro history, protest against lynching and discriminatory practices, full representation of "our noble race" in all branches of the American government and the consolidation of all religious denominations. The Forty-Ninth State Movement does not visualize a home in Africa, but in the United States. The founders say:

It is immediately imperative that the entire Negro population in the United States be organized for aggressive action in a definite program to make possible the moving of millions of Negroes to a new area where they can avoid impending death and have a chance to LIVE; to work together in a conscious effort to get and keep jobs for Negroes wherever they may reside; and to build up for the Negro a solid front to withstand the storms of life that face him."

These programs can be classified as political, but there are other nationalistic organizations whose purposes are largely religious, i.e., they predict the salvation of the Negro through the adoption of a particular religion, sometimes accompanied by language and dress qualifications.

These appeals are evident in this soap-box oration made by a member of the U.N.I.A. branch on Thirty-fifth and State:

"Talkin' about a heaven above the moon and stars. Fool, how yah expect a dead man to go to heaven when a live man ain't never been theah. Fool, how in the worl' can a dead man eat honey and drink milk?

"The Lawd ain't tol' you that you goin' to inherit the earth! Read youah Bible careful and check up on me. If you'd only read careful.

"He tol' youah that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. But you go around heah expecting to go to heaven. Ain't nobody going to heaven!

"The Eyetalians done made themselves a heaven in Ethiopia, and the Japanese are trying to make themselves a heaven in China.. No, but heah we are planning to go to a heaven in the sky.

"Talking about you don't want to go to Africa. Why don't you want to go? The white race goes there and sheds blood to win a little bit of it--and the whole country rightfully belongs to you! You got these W.P.A. jobs now, but what 'cha going to do when that's over? Then, you talking you don't want to go to Africa, that you don't know nothing bout this country.

"Yes, Muss-olena done made a heaven for hisself, and Hitler is trying to make Germany a heaven for Germans. But what we doing?--trying to go to heaven.

"You don't want to go back to Africa, huh? Well, let me tell all of you somt ing--the white man don't want you except for his convenience. Why don't you want to go back to Africa?--because you believe what the white man tells you about the natives being crazy over there. Fool, if the natives over there are crazy and wild why does the white man go over there? Wake up, we been sleeping too long, praying to go to a heaven above the moon and clouds. Your heaven is over there where your ancestors came from."

Others may focus their attention on one objective only, for example, the Moslems seek freedom through cultural unity with Arabic speaking Mohammedans, while the originators of the Forty-Ninth State Movement place emphasis on territorial acquisition, and the Iron Defense Legion emphasizes political and economic equality.[1]

The majority of the people in the Chicago Negro community were never enrolled in the Black Internationale, but there is little doubt that a large segment of the community was sympathetic with the movement and followed it with interest. While the established leaders in the community fought and ridiculed the movement, its influence has been manifest in many indirect ways, and at one time it had some political power. For instance:

In the 1934 primary, in the First Congressional District, the movement was active for the Negro candidate, who later said: "But the U. N. I.A. did help me. One of their leaders heard me speak. He was impressed with what I had to say and so he made it possible for me to speak before them. They liked my talk and they voted to support me. Some people say that I bought them off. But, I didn't give them a cent and they didn't ask for a cent either. They worked like Trojans for me.

> They were bold and fearless. They were a material factor in my campaign. I don't know how many were in the organization but it was very powerful and I got every one of their votes. Five thousand is a very conservative estimate of their strength."[22]

One measure of the U.N.I.A.'s present strength was its appeal to the Negro community in 1938 to support a suggestion made by Senator Bilbo of Mississippi that Negroes who wished to go to Africa might receive Federal aid. The U.N.I.A. was able to round up about 300 lobbyists to go to Washington, via truck, in favor of the bill. A Chicago leader even took credit for initiating the idea, telling an interviewer that:

> You know that speech that Senator Bilbo made in Washington? We sent him that. I didn't know he was going to use it. I sent it to President Roosevelt. . . . . President Roosevelt gave it to a Senator, who didn't have any Negro voters in his district and was not afraid.[23]

Now, a small, isolated "sect,"* the Garveyites meet to sing and talk of old times, and to read the still stirring words of the exiled "leaders":

THE WORLD CRISIS IS COMING
The Negro Everywhere Should Be Prepared
Leader Speaks Out To People

---

*Editor Abbott of the Defender had Garvey arrested upon his visit to Chicago, an incident described by Garvey in his "Philosophy and Opinions," in an article "Why I have Not Spoken in Chicago Since 1920." A Chicago leader told an interviewer that:

> The big preachers are opposed to the U.N.I.A. We could meet in their churches, but they managed always to have the congregation gone when we held our meeting.

Another leader stated:

> "The ministers in the larger churches are so afraid that they'll lose control of their members if we get them, that they always preach against us."

A prominent Negro minister in New York, himself able to pass for white, evaluating Garvey, has recently stated:

> "I am not writing a brief for Marcus Garvey, but it is recording the truth and perhaps for the first time, to say that he is the only man that ever made Negroes who are not black ashamed of their color."[24]

Fellowmen of the Negro Race, Greetings:

The world is dragging on its new upset to a vital place. . . . . The world is bound to be re-organized. The mighty forces contributing to this have been manouvering for some time, but it is indicative that sooner or later the end will come. The worry is, where will the Negro find himself when the time comes. . . . . Thoughtfully, therefore, the Negro must look forward toward this turning period with much concern.

. . . . . .

The Universal Negro Improvement Association as always, now offers the Negro the opportunity of organization. He must make organization effective. He must be prepared through organization to take care of himself. The high sounding notes of alien statesmanship mean nothing to us particularly, because all that man says and does ultimately can be attributed to his own self-interest. The Negro must have his own self-interest. He must think it, he must act it. His own self-interest must lead him into those channels of racial and national co-operation and behaviour that must bring him the conveniences he needs.

. . . . . .

From a nationalistic point of view we have to travel with certain nations, we have to support them, but in supporting them we must exact from them all that we are entitled to as a people. It is in this respect that we must carefully take sides when the crisis comes. This crisis that we talk of is only being postponed day by day, but sooner or later it will come. It will come with a mighty rush--a sweeping rush that will take men off their feet everywhere, but after it has passed over and the re-adjustment is to take place then the Negro will find if he was not ready for the crisis how difficult it will be for him to stand the entire trend of world politics and world confusion.[25]

The influence of Garvey on Chicago cannot be measured by the number of present members, but must be sought for in the leadership it threw up in the twenties, and its indirect influence in stimulating "race consciousness" and "race pride" among the Negroes.*

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*A former Secretary-treasurer of the national U.N.I.A. is now a state senator in Illinois; another important official is a popular political organizer; several persons who in their youth were Garveyites are now important figures in the local labor movement, and several others are leaders in the National Negro Congress. Many persons attribute the vogue for "colored angels," "Negro Saints," etc., in some churches to the Garvey influence. Incidentally, the Black Man still advertises a picture wall motto "with the design of a Negro angel--something sweet to look at."

The Coming of the "Great Depression."

Both the optimism of the Negro business and professional classes and the temporary adjustment of the urban masses to an ascending curve of production were suddenly shattered in 1929 by the advent of the "Great Depression."

> The workers of Chicago were very hard hit by the Great Depression which followed the stock-market collapse in 1929. Of the ten largest cities in the U.S., Chicago suffered among the most from the recession of economic activity. Over half of the employees of the electrical industries, and a large proportion of those engaged in furniture, packing, clothing, printing, and transportation were discharged.
>
> However, the Great Depression struck Chicago after a prolonged period of improvement in the money wage (and the real wage) of factory workers. . . . . The yearly average wage (in dollars) increased between 1919 and 1929 in the principal Chicago industries, save only slaughtering and packing. (Italics, ed.)[26]

Wages in slaughtering and packing decreased about 10 per cent and mechanization in the industry increased by about 3 per cent, both processes which profoundly affected a community, a sizeable proportion of whose workers were in the industry.

The reduction in earning power of the white middle and upper income groups was felt particularly by Negro domestic servants who now faced reduction in wages and the increased competition of white women who had had more desirable occupations. Sixty-two per cent of the Negro women and 25 per cent of the men who entered the field of employment between 1920 and 1930 were in the "servant" categories. Thirty-five per cent of all Negro workers were in this group in 1930.

In January of 1929, the Urban League began to prepare the Negro community to face the third depression in a decade, and the Defender commenting on the League's role stated that it was advising Negroes not to flock to Chicago even though the Fair would absorb many of them.

The Defender also reported that:

> Something is happening in Chicago and it should no longer go unnoticed. During the past three weeks hardly a day has ended that there has not been a report of another firm discharging its employees, many of whom have been faithful workers at these places for years.[27]

By March, a conference was contemplated.

> "The unemployment situation among the Race is becoming more and more acute," reports E. M. Robinson, industrial secretary of the Urban League. "Every week we receive information regarding the discharge of additional Race workers who are being replaced by workers of other races."
>
> In addition to the ministers who will attend this conference, invitations have been sent to prominent business men and workers in the social and civic field. Men who are interested and would like to attend the conference should get in touch with the industrial department of the Urban League at once.[28]

The Defender in January had advised Negroes to "toe the line" if they would keep their jobs. By March, the paper was thoroughly aroused, although somewhat confused, and tends to revert to one of its oldest "lines" --anti-foreign attacks-- in an article, Arrest Foreign Workers Without Citizenships,[29] "who are apt students of segregation and discrimination and will not work side by side with them (Negroes)."*

It was not until a year later, however, that the Urban League found it necessary to mobilize the entire community, when a meeting was then held at the Appomatox Club for the purpose of co-ordinating private relief activities. Private organizations, including churches, were called upon to assist in giving relief to the unemployed, and many churches organized special

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*Commenting in the November 19, 1939 issue, on the Defender Platform for America, plank 6 of which states, "Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners," an editorial insists that "There is no fanning of prejudice, no desire to discriminate against those of foreign birth in this plank of our platform and explains that it meant this as an educational slogan and for situations where facilities are limited."

relief activities.[30]

But this was no simple depression, such as those of '21 and '26. Two years passed and it was still here with its increasing misery and paralyzing uncertainty. In July 1930, Binga's State Bank closed its doors, to be followed by every other Negro bank in the community.[31]

With the symbols of the Negro business group falling, and with unemployment increasing, the Negro masses began to move partly with spontaneity, and partly under the manipulation of the Negro business and professional men who were faced with the threat of extinction by an unemployed, non-purchasing mass on one hand and by the competition of the white business man on the other. Out of their interests and those of disillusioned, unemployed young Negroes came the famous "Spend Your Money Where You Can Work Campaign" of 1929.

It was not until 1931, however, that Chicago became aware that its problem was not one of an emergency which could be handled privately. It took a catastrophe to awaken the city, and

> As a result of spontaneous collective action by the unemployed, the fact burst upon the public consciousness that unemployment and the ills occasioned by it were public rather than private responsibilities. The breaking-point was the bloody riot of August 3rd, in which three Negroes were killed. From this point on, unemployment was never viewed as a purely individual responsibility.[32]

In February of 1932, a $30,000,000 appropriation bill was passed and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission was appointed.

In July, 1932, the I.E.R.C. borrowed $3,000,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation over the protests of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, who opposed government interference.

In September, 1932, Mayor Cermak was forced to request an additional $8,100,000 of which he received $5,000,000. The number of families on relief rose to 168,000, but evictions dropped 43 per cent, due largely to the adjustments made after the 1931 demonstrations.

In November, 1932, Roosevelt was elected, and for the first time in Chicago the Republican's solid "Black Belt" was broken.

The development of the New Deal program tended to stabilize the community and give form to a new type of "social order" involving new forms of cooperation with the Government. This was particularly true among Negroes, where due to differential treatment in industry and their concentration in insecure jobs, the number of Negroes on direct relief rose to about 40 per cent of the total relief load by 1939. About one-third of all Negroes were on relief by that year, while 32.4 per cent of the persons employed by W.P.A. in 1939 were Negro.

The first reactions to the crisis were naturally in terms of "race"--the familiar omnibus category. There was a tendency to see the problem as one which Negroes could solve alone, and an important movement crystallized around the slogan "Make Jobs for the Race." As the crises were on, however, many Negroes began to see the problem in terms of class, aggravated by race, and out of this awareness emerged two movements--a small revolutionary movement symbolized by the Communist Party; a larger and more significant labor movement symbolized by the C.I.O.

"Making Jobs for the Race"

"Making Jobs for the Race" assumes two aspects, viz., (1) securing a larger share of employment in the industries, offices and homes of the American economy, (2) developing exclusively Negro enterprises, particularly in those realms where the market can be restricted as in insurance, retail business in the Black Belt, restaurants, and similar service and retail enterprises. The first aspect of this problem has been faced traditionally in the Negro community by the Urban League, which has attempted to induce individual employers and groups to hire Negroes, a task made increasingly difficult with the advent of the depression. Other agencies such as the Industrial Departments of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have rendered similar services to the community, in the face of objections on the part of many employers and some unions to the hiring of Negroes.

Particular resentment has been manifested in the press and in interviews toward businesses doing the major portion of their business with the Negro people and refusing to hire Negroes.* Aside from requesting employment, the only available mechanisms for increasing the areas of employment seemed to be (1) working more cheaply than white people (suggested by Marcus Garvey) and its associated behavior--deliberately breaking strikes in order to force acceptance of Negroes by unions or unconsciously doing so through the operation of the labor market; (2) disciplined pressure on industries and businesses which do an appreciable amount of business with Negroes.

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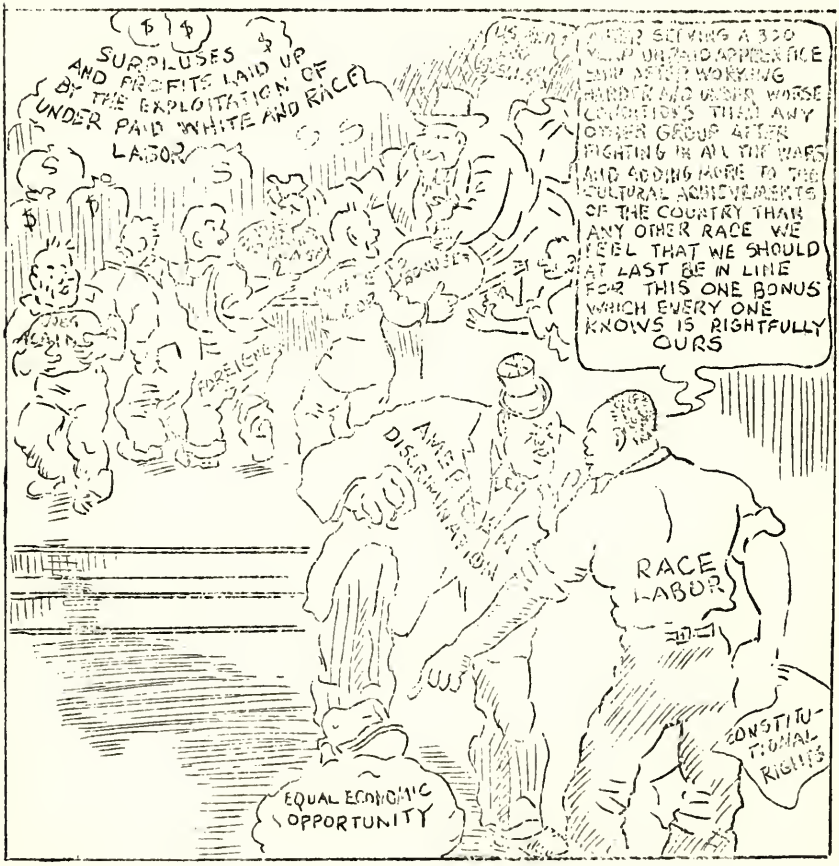
*The Defender praised the South Center Department Store on Forty-seventh Street, in 1928 for employing Negroes along with white people in managerial and clerical capacities.[33]

The Voice Of Race Labor


SURPLUSES AND PROFITS LAID UP BY THE EXPLOITATION OF UNDER PAID WHITE AND RACE LABOR
AFTER SERVING A 320 YEAR UNPAID APPRENTICE SHIP AS SLAVES WORKING UNDER NO WORSE CONDITIONS THAN ANY OTHER GROUP AFTER FIGHTING IN ALL THE WARS AND ADDING MORE TO THE CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY THAN ANY OTHER RACE WE FEEL THAT WE SHOULD AT LAST BE IN LINE FOR THIS ONE BONUS WHICH EVERY ONE KNOWS IS RIGHTFULLY OURS
AMERICAN DISCRIMINATION
RACE LABOR
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS
EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Chicago Defender, 1937

Increasing labor consciousness during the depression resulting in the guarantee of labor's right to bargain collectively caused widespread comment in the Negro community. The press voices the demand of "Race Labor" to share in whatever gains accrue to labor.

The first widespread use of this latter method was made in 1929 when the Chicago Whip began its "Spend your money where you can work campaign."* A year before the opening salvo a Whip editorial had stated:

> Unless employment of a more diversified nature is given the black people in this country, the white investors who have established their businesses in so-called Black Belts will be driven to the wall. There is widespread complaint that business is not good. . . . . The white man will be driven by sheer necessity to open up the avenue for earning a living to black people so that their own holdings will not shrink and disappear. There is a dove-tailing and overlapping of white and black in this nation that must work out for the best interest of all concerned.[36]

The Whip intimated that the economic forces of white self-interest, unaided, would do the job. By January 1929, however, the Whip was incensed

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*It should be noted, however, that as early as 1914, the Chicago Defender, referring to the deplorable necessity for "passing" to secure employment in downtown stores, advised Negroes to "patronize the store that offers the most to you and yours and you will be aiding materially in the movement" to break down discrimination in hiring clerks.[34]

Preliminary "skirmishes" had been made such as the one mentioned in a Defender article in the fall of 1927:[35]

September 10, 1927 CHURCHES TAKE THE LEAD IN WAR ON PREJUDICED STORES

"Merchants, business men, and all keepers of public places who open up their places in neighborhoods inhabited largely by our people, are realizing that the day is past when we are content to pour our money into their pockets and get no representation.

"We are demanding that our boys and girls be given a chance not only to spend their money with them, but a chance to share a little in the vast profits that they take in from their own people.

"One of our progressive churches called a meeting of more than 400 members, and it was decided that all stores which would not employ our people should be boycotted. It was decided that every merchant would be warned that unless they gave jobs to our people they might as well close their stores. This meeting will be continued every week.

"Particular concern has been manifested over public utilities which refuse to hire Negroes."

and had abandoned hope that economic forces unaccompanied by pressure would "do the trick."[37]

The first drive was made on the Metropolitan Insurance Company because it did not hire colored collectors and treated Negroes differentially. The Whip called on Negroes to withdraw their policies,[38] distributed handbills telling Negroes "why colored people were in poverty and need" and dispatched speakers to various churches. The Metropolitan Company did not change its behavior, but Negro insurance companies took advantage of the situation and a paper reported in 1929, that

> . . . . in conspicuous places on the South Side there are about a dozen large painted signs, paid for by an association of the Negro insurance companies of Chicago.[39]

The President of a Negro insurance company commenting on the matter states:

> When the issue of a new policy is in question our agents use the job argument for all that it is worth, and usually with telling effect.[40]

The "ball had begun to roll" and a bureau was set up, The Commercial Service Employment Bureau, to push the issue. In the meanwhile a private individual near Forty-seventh and Evans started a boycott of a Consumer's Store:

> He and Mr. X secured the co-operation of the nearest Negro Church, and in it they held mass meetings for the purpose of impressing upon the people the principle of buying only in stores that employed Negroes as clerks, with special emphasis upon the Consumer's store in the vicinity. The first effort at picketing was very crude. Mr. X worked during the day and in the evening after work he walked before this store asking Negroes not to patronize it, because it was unfair to colored labor. He also distributed to the Negro customers printed cards to the same effect. Once, Mr. X was apprehended by the police as a public nuisance, but was released on the same night. At another time he was searched. Altogether the store was picketed intermittently for sixty days. In April 1930, after a systematic boycott of all the Consumer's stores located in the Negro districts, the policy of not employing Negro clerks was abandoned. Thereafter, the general manager became a "warm friend" of the leaders of the campaign. The following is a letter to the Chicago Whip:

Gentlemen:

This is to confirm our conversation in which we agreed to place colored girls as clerks in our south side stores where there is a large trade. We wish you to know that we are in accord with your drive for employment, feeling that we and ouner large corporations must take an active part in lowering unemployment if business is to be established, particularly neighborhood business.

We want further to assure you that we are convinced that your program is sound, just and fair; it should be supported by the neighborhood stores to the fullest extent.

We have already placed three colored girls at 224 E. 47th Street, and will place others in all of our south side stores as soon as we can train them. We will select the best girls from the applicants and make every effort to give the buying public the highest type of service in our stores. We will thank you if you will send us some girls who have had store (grocery) experience, if you know of any.

(Signed) Gen'l M'g'r.[41]

Within a few weeks another Negro individual forced a fruit store to give in by a one man picket line resulting in his arrest three times in one day. Then came the major drive against the Woolworth Stores.

On June 7, 1930, pickets with sandwich signs began to walk in front of two Woolworth Stores on the South Side.

On October 4, 1930, twenty-one colored girls helped to open the new Fifty-First Street store, and within a year 25 per cent of all the Woolworth girls on the South Side were colored.

The four month fight against Woolworth was a strenuous struggle involving the use of paid pickets, cruising loud speakers, soap box orators, and relentless publicity through the press. The N.A.A.C.P. co-operated by dispatching a strong letter to the national office of the Woolworth Company, accompanied by a petition from 162 of the Forty-seventh Street business men, stating:

We are sure that you will appreciate that your stores are in open competition with these merchants, inasmuch as your stores sell for ten cents articles which for the most part they charge more. Yet, these

> merchants whose business has increased since the beginning of the picket still ask that you consider the matter of hiring colored clerks for the general good of all. All of the merchants who have signed this petition with the exception of one, hire Negro clerks and therefore they are in a position to speak authoritatively on the effect on their business in the community.[42]

The N.A.A.C.P. also assisted by assuming responsibility for paying the pickets with a fund raised by Negro business and professional men, a total sum of over one thousand dollars.

Cox states that the churches were "the most important means of reaching the socially organized Negro."

> An attempt was made to impress the principles of the boycott not only upon church congregations but also upon the preachers. To this end, picked men selected to lead the attack, were appointed to go before certain ministerial organizations, such as the _____ to present the problem. After the various phases of the program were described, the very evident though decisive argument was used, viz., that the more Negroes have jobs, the less charity the church will be asked to give, and the larger will be the offerings. Therefore, it was to the direct interest of the preachers to fall into line with the forces of the campaign. . . . . The majority of them did so. . . . . In many instances ministers entreated the Whip to send them speakers.[43]

Some ministers approached local merchants demanding jobs for Negroes. Blocks were organized, speakers circulated among all types of clubs, flying squads visited stores inquiring in a loud voice why no Negroes were hired, and the South Side was flooded with literature. Soap boxers whipped up the campaign:

> Some cowards say they are not with us in this fight because they are afraid of losing their jobs. . . . . No race is entitled to jobs far away (e.g., Gary, East Chicago, Hyde Park) until it has sense enough to fight for jobs nearby.
>
> If we win we will have permanent positions for our girls and for the first time on earth we will really establish the fact that we love ourselves just the same as other races love themselves.
>
> I have been connected with pugilism for over nineteen years, but this is the greatest fight I've ever witnessed.

> No race wants to love a race, or be loved by a race that does not love itself.
>
> All I want and all I hope to get out of this fight is the glory of victory.[44]

There were some recalcitrant Negroes who had to be whipped in line --verbally. Pickets were absolutely forbidden to use violence and were instructed that "they should rather take a blow than start a physical combat that might result in shedding of blood and probable discredit to the work." Sanctions of "race pride" were used:

> Any Negro woman who will pass that picket and go into a Woolworth Store, is absolutely incapable of being insulted by a white man.[45]

And one Negro minister, a master of invective and humor addressed:

> Ladies and gentlemen, friends and fellow citizens, employment agents, private detectives, traitors, trapsetters, and stool pigeons, I am pleased to speak with you this evening.
>
> Years ago when teamsters, truck-drivers, coal miners, steel workers, railroaders, and all were carrying signs and picketing unfair places, not a single Negro said it was wrong. But as soon as progressive Afro-Americans started to picket three south side Woolworth stores, Negro traitors said that it was not right. . . . . If I were base enough to go into these Woolworth stores, I would deserve to be burned in a wilderness of worms, with rats for my relatives, lizzards for my lodge members, and bats for my beneficiaries. I would deserve a python for my pillow, funk-weeds for flowers, maggots for mourners, pole cats for pall bearers, a crocodile's carcass for a casket, and a cesspool for my cemetery.[46]

Even the Urban League, despite its own more individual approach

> . . . . not only gave its sanction to the movement, but also placed the facilities of its office at the disposal of the leaders. . . . . Throughout the period of the active struggle for employment, the Chicago Urban League was in communication with the editors of the paper. . . . . The protagonist of the movement was invited by the League to speak before audiences of prominent persons. Beyond this wholehearted support and encouragement, however, the League took no active part in the campaign. Its organization was such that it could not co-operate directly in the use of coercive methods. . . . . On October 9, 1930, Mr. Foster wrote the following to T. Arnold Hill, Director of the Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League:
>
> "The time has come for a more aggressive attitude on the part of Negroes. We of the Chicago Urban League realize that fact, and our

future programs will be far more aggressive than they have in the past. . . . ."[47]

There was one organization at the time of this study, devoted primarily to the task of widening the area of employment for Negroes, The Negro Labor Relations League. The enterprise is essentially a young people's movement following in the tradition of similar movements in Durham, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, and New York City, and the dramatic campaign of the Chicago Whip from 1929-1931 which began the national movement.[48]

An official publication of the League describes its origin and activities as follows:[49]

> Because of the increasing number of Negroes on direct relief and W.P.A. rolls and the decreasing number of them in private industry, a group of young men, in the month of December, 1937 met in the office of Joe Jefferson, then Boys Work Secretary of the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A.
>
> Realizing the importance of JOBS in the secure wage brackets they decided to help a group of struggling senior paper carriers for the Herald & Examiner who had reached the age and experience to qualify for Branch managers. With the assistance of Mr. Howard D. Gould of the Chicago Urban League and Mr. Charles Johnson, President of the Inter-Council of Clubs, several conferences with the company officials were held at the office of the company and one at the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A. where all of the paper boys and officials met. The result was that eight young Negro men were immediately appointed Branch managers for the Herald & Examiner at salaries ranging from $35 to $50 per week. Since that time five solicitors have been employed whose salaries range from $27.50 to $90.00 per week.
>
> Then in the summer of 1938 we realized the need for an organization similar to the New York Coordinating Committee to mobilize mass pressure and action. So, with the help of William L. Dawson, then Alderman of the Second Ward we organized the Negro Labor Relations League. On Wednesday, August 3, 1938, with handbills and the assistance of "Dynamite"* edited by H. Geo. Davenport, we launched our campaign to open up opportunities of employment in jobs heretofore held

*Dynamite was a militant "race" journal with a distinct anti-Semitic slant. The League was never anti-Semitic, and while it was appreciative of Dynamite's help, did not endorse that paper's full program.

tightly against Negro men and women.

At a large mass meeting held at the DuSaible High School, and attended by over three thousand persons, a report was made of the year's activities. The main speaker for the occasion was A. Clayton Powell, Jr., young New York Baptist minister who had led a similar campaign in New York. As a part of his speech, he castigated the ministry for its "other worldly" attitude amid the applause of both the ministers (some thirty of whom were on the platform) and the audience.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE NEGRO LABOR RELATIONS LEAGUE

1. DAILY TIMES

Secured the appointments of six Branch managers for the Daily Times at salaries averaging $25.00 to $35.00 per week.

Campaign launched August 10, 1937 - JOBS secured August 17.

Cost of Campaign, $109.50.

2. EVENING AMERICAN

Secured the appointment of eight Branch managers for Evening American without having to resort to a pressure campaign. A conference was held at the Company office and the officials attended our meeting at St. Elizabeth's Hall. The branch managers' salaries range from $35 to $50 per week.

3. DRIVE FOR NEGRO MILKMEN

On August 27, we joined with the Council of Negro Organizations in the fight for Negro milk wagon drivers. At present the Negro Labor Relations League is the only organization actively carrying on the fight. We have sponsored a number of milkless days which have been successful.

Cost of Campaign, $428.00

4. CAMPAIGN FOR MOTION PICTURE OPERATORS

On September 8, 1938, we initiated the campaign to secure more Negro motion picture operators in local theatres. Handbills were distributed and theatres picketed. As a result 10 men were assigned to

jobs; four of whom were the first Negroes to receive city motion picture operator licenses in twenty years. A motion picture operator's salary is $90 per week. Campaign ended October 25th. Cost: $800.00.

5. OFFICE

In January our steering committee voted to establish offices in order that our many workers and friends could more easily contact us. The expense of maintenance has been carried by the members. We purchased an automatic multigraph machine with which to print our material. Since the purchase we have greatly reduced our printing bill. Each member volunteers to be in the office a designated number of hours each week. All services rendered are voluntary. No one is paid. Cost: $321.77.

6. JOB CRUSADE MASS MEETING

Promotion Cost: $210.00.

Thus you see in the last eight months, with the sum of $1,768.27 we have been able to keep our organization going and also have been able to make or secure jobs for Negroes totaling $87, 560.00 per year.

At the time of writing, the League was waging a campaign for the employment of Negroes by the Illinois Bell Telephone Company and was utilizing the technique of having Negroe to remove their telephones as a protest against discriminatory policies. This movement has been widely endorsed by some of the more prominent ministers and civic leaders.

Without a doubt, "job campaigns" strike the most responsive chord in the Negro community and many non-instrumental organizations co-operate. by petition and protest, while a few smaller "problem solving" groups have made it an integral part of their program. Among these are the John Brown Organization and the Woodlawn Co-operative Society.[50]

"Now History Is About To Repeat"[499]

RACE YOUTH
HELP
AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS
FOREIGN WAR
OFFERING HIS LIFE
AND AFTER HELPING TO SAVE HIM —
YOU CAN FIGHT FOR ME - BUT YOU CAN'T WORK FOR ME!
OFFERING HIS SERVICES

Chicago Defender, 1937

With war clouds gathering, it is suggested that real patriotism and democracy should mean "a square deal" for Negroes.

The Coming of the Communists

Radical activities previous to the Depression had never borne much fruit among Negroes in Chicago. There were Negro radicals here and there--members of unions, Marxist discussion groups, and the I.W.W., the Socialist and Communist Parties, but the broad masses for whom Utopia would exist and through whom it would come--both white and black--had never before the Depression, been set in motion by the radicals.

Then came 1929 and with it the shattering of "The Dream".* The Negro masses did not respond at first--"always depression for us," they said. Then they began to complain that they were "First to be Fired and Last to be Hired." The Negro middle classes and the young race-conscious unemployed rallied them for a brief and powerful drive for employment in the "buying power campaign," to the caustic criticism of a weak new voice--the Communists, who said of the drive:

> The triviality of this proposal is obvious on the face of it. It is indeed possible to organize boycott actions to compel petty shopkeepers in Harlem to hire Negro clerks, and it is even possible on occasions to kick up a row big enough to force a Woolworth Store in Chicago to make a promise. But what has this to do with hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the coal, iron, steel, oil, automobile, and packing industries. --- in the basic industries of America? Can the Negro people use their "buying power" to refuse to buy locomotives or automobiles so as to compel the big trusts to end discrimination against Negroes? Or shall the Negro people refuse to buy meat or coal to the same end? There is no substance to the "use our buying power" proposal; it can only be raised by those whose social vision is bounded

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*Negro leaders in the late twenties had talked much of "salvation via Negro business," and at one time the Colored Merchants Association had begun to organize a nation-wide chain of grocery stores, designed to corral the Negroes' wayward dollars, astray in white pastures.

by petty industry and petty trade, who see everything not from the view-point of Negro workers, (the great mass of Negro people), but rather from that of the Negro small businessman.[51]

The Communists had begun organizational work among the Negroes in Chicago as early as 1924, when they distributed hundreds of copies of the Daily Worker carrying special articles on Negroes in Chicago, headlining "Firetrap Schools for Worker's Children" (attacks on the buildings housing the Mosely, Foster, and Skinner Schools) and the showing of the "Birth of a Nation"--"a vile klan film".* Police brutality was also discussed, as well as the 1924 unemployment problem--NEGROES HARD HIT AS JOBLESS CRISIS GROWS. Street meetings began in 1924 as well as regular meetings at the community house on Wabash Avenue near thirty-second Street. A Worker's School was started and interracial socials were held. On at least one occasion, a vigorous attack was made on the Garveyites, the Daily Worker reporting the incident as follows:

NEGRO WORKERS CHEER MINOR IN OPEN AIR MEET

Communist Hits Back-to-African Movement

Declaring that the problems and interests of the Negro workers were identical with those of white workers. . . . Bob Minor received an inspiring ovation from a large crowd of colored workers . . . . at the Workers' Party open air meeting at 30th and State Streets. . . . Minor brought with him to the meeting a large map of the African continent which he put to good use in exploding the Garvey Back-to-Africa panacea. . . . . All workers must unite . . . . explained the role of the Workers' Party . . . . at the close of the meeting announced the next meeting and asked for a show of hands of all those who would attend. Several score responded. . . . . Minor surrounded by an enthusiastic group of men who insisted on shaking his hand . . . . many expressed intention of joining the Party . . . . . 500 copies of the Special Chicago Campaign Edition of the Daily Worker were distributed.

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*This was a never failing agitational issue for the Defendor between 1910 and 1925.

> In 1924, an "ALL RACE CONGRESS" had been held, and the Communists had tried to capture it, ". . . . but despite these evidences of party influence, the Congress of 1924 had ended (as indeed it had begun) with capitalist Negroes leading the movement. Not a single representative of labor or the farm had been placed on the executive committee, but only representatives of business and religious groups.[52]

Dr. Gosnell states that:

> . . . . . In general those Negroes who had jobs in Chicago were afraid that they might lose them at any time on account of their color and they were not willing to run the additional risk of being classed as "red," "socialist," "bolshevik," or "communist."[53]

In the fall of 1925, the Communist Party sponsored its own American Negro Labor Congress which created widespread comment, although the consensus of opinion was that "the Chicago pow-wow, with its orations and resolutions will have no influence on the Negroes of the Country."[54]

For the next three years, although the South Side branch met regularly, there was no outstanding activity--only occasional interracial dances, money-raising for Sacco and Vanzetti, and a diminishing amount of space in the Daily Worker, until revigorated by the Sixth World Congress of the Third International in 1928, the American Communists once more began the drive for the Negro. The Daily Worker stated in that year:

> The Party should carry out a merciless struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism. In the future, a full time Negro organizer must be maintained.[55]

In approaching the Negro problem, the Communists, from the beginning, not only attempted to recruit members, but worked in other organizations for specific ends; for instance, the Negro Tenants' Protective League of Chicago was organized in 1924. A drive was instituted against Congressman DePriest who was accused of "fleecing his own race" and

against the Urban League which according to the Daily Worker" . . . . in its plans for 1924 . . . . makes no mention of the housing problem . . . . shows itself to be a go-between connecting the industrial oppressors with a cheap Negro labor market." [56] These attacks on the respected symbols of the Negro community, often by white people, tended to alienate many Negroes and aroused the ire of both the moderate racialists and the extreme racialists. Yet, at a mass meeting at the Odd Fellow's Hall on the housing problem in 1925 "The Reds" drew an overflow crowd and received round after round of applause.[57] It was announced at this meeting that the next meeting "was to be held in a large church which had been donated for that purpose by a South Side minister."[58] There was no mass response however. The International Labor Defense and the Council of Progressive Unemployed, though in existence, during the twenties, likewise exerted little influence on the community.[59]

In January 1930, a new recruiting campaign began and so successful was it that within a month, the number of Negro members totaled 113 out of 605 (18.68 per cent of the total).[60] Then in March, the "Red Squad" began ten days of terror, breaking up meetings of the unemployed, arresting leaders, and raiding headquarters and seizing records. Lasswell, in his careful study of the Communists in Chicago states that:

> Despite this onslaught of the law, 3,000 workers rallied on the night of March 5th, at a mass meeting for the defense of the unemployed and the Communist Party at the Ashland Auditorium. And on the following day, thousands assembled at Halsted and Lake Streets, and with an army two miles long, marched through the working class and factory sections south of the loop, ending with an open air meeting near the Stockyards. Another mass meeting protesting police brutality of this "reign of terror" was called by the I.L.D., in the Negro district.

> This meeting, held March 28 . . . . was addressed by speakers from the Nat Turner* branch of the I.L.D. as well as by party speakers. [61]

Meetings were held throughout the spring and summer of 1930, on lynching and segregation at the Royal Circle Hall, the Odd Fellows Hall and in Washington Park. At one large mass meeting, a Negro speaker declared:

> It is up to the white workers to demonstrate to their fellow workers that they will really take up the fight for the Negro workers and fight against lynching and segregation. We want no race riots, but united class war against the bosses and boss lynch terror, and this fight must be carried on not only by Negro but by white workers as well.[62]

There was little active opposition to the Communists on the part of the churches, although the assistant pastor of one large Baptist church had three white workers arrested for distributing anti-lynching leaflets in front of the church, telling the police that "white folks should mind their own business and Negroes neither wanted nor needed their aid." **

Then came the cause celebre that rallied a large section of the community around the Communists--SCOTTSBORO. A United Front Scottsboro Defense Committee was called and 285 elected delegates representing 118 Negro churches, 16 Negro clubs, and 17 unions were present, and one speaker said, "The Negro Race owes thanks to the Communists. . . . . Rally behind them despite all." An executive committee of twenty-five was chosen and began to systematically contact all Negro organizations.[64]

> Churches throughout the district, from the small store-front congregations to the largest church in the district took up the cry of

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*Nat Turner was the leader of a Negro slave insurrection in Virginia.

**A typical attitude was expressed by a minister who said, "I can't feed the people. If they can feed them, let them." Only in the face of direct attacks on the church, did the Negro ministers retaliate in kind.[63]

protest and took up collections to help the Inter-national Labor Defense carry on its fight. Often party members as representatives of the Defense Committee or of the I.L.D. were allowed to address church congregations. Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of one of the boys, spoke at the second largest Negro church in the city and drew an enormous crowd. . . . . The whole campaign created a feeling of general friendliness toward the communists, a friendliness which had not hitherto existed.[65]

Simultaneously with the Scottsboro campaign, the Communists had been championing the cause of persons who were evicted for inability to pay rent, a very live issue in the Negro community, victim as it was of bad housing and excessive rents. Hundreds of evicted Negroes were restored to their homes by crowds which were led by members of the Unemployed Councils and the Communist Party often to the tune of the translitorated spiritual, "We Shall Not Be Moved." In August 1931, two thousand persons led by the Unemployed Councils, after a meeting in Washington Park, marched to 5016 South Dearborn Street to replace the furniture of an unemployed woman. By the time they arrived there were close to five thousand persons in the group. Reports of the marchers brought officers from the Wabash Avenue police station and several men were arrested. When the crowd showed signs of becoming difficult to handle, the police drew their guns, fired into the crowd and killed three Negroes, wounding others. Immediately fifty thousand leaflets were distributed:

HOLD SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE CHICAGO MASSACRE OF OUR UNEMPLOYED COMRADES

These demonstrations must mark the crossroad at which the millions of unemployed workers, under our leadership, must break the fetters of capitalist illusions (prosperity over the hill) and must forge, in struggle, a powerful mass unemployment movement to force the ruling class to grant immediate relief and [sic] insurance.[66]

The city concentrated police on the South Side. Finally the bodies were moved to the Odd Fellows Hall where they lay in state with a Negro and white guard of honor, "to give the outraged masses an opportunity to view the bodies." Eighteen thousand people viewed the remains! Mass meetings were held in Washington Park every day for a week, at one of which a speaker announced "that the fatal riot of Monday had resulted in dearly bought victories for the jobless masses in that the Renters Court had temporarily suspended all eviction orders . . . . hundreds of poverty-striken families, white and black, in all parts of the city are now relieved of the spector of being heartlessly shoved out into the streets."[67]

"World Revolutionary Propaganda" began to subside as the Communist Party, under the stress of growing fascist tendencies, threw its energies behind the building of the "Democratic Front," and as the Federal Government began to give assistance to the unemployed, thus stabilizing the economic and social systems.

There were in 1937, less than six thousand Communist Party members in Illinois, and of this number, about two thousand were Negro, 90 per cent of these living in Chicago. The only "official" subsidiary organization active in Chicago is the Young Communist League of which a young Negro man is State President.[68] Communists took a very active part in community movements. The municipal election platform of 1939 consisted of 14 "progressive" planks including:

> Equal rights to Negroes; outlaw discrimination. Immediate government low-cost housing projects on the South Side. 69

The Party commented that:

> Reactionary forces will side-step these issues, or attack these reforms and progressive measures as Communistic or Socialistic. Clearly, they are not. Today, as many times before in the history of our country, the struggle is between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. Of course, we Communists believe that only a socialistic system of society would finally and for all time eliminate unemployment, crises, and the waste of capitalism, would abolish war from the face of the earth, would make full use of the achievements of science, would secure a comfortable standard of living in our rich, highly developed country, for all, almost overnight. But socialism is not the issue before the American people today. Today the task is to defeat reaction and to maintain and extend democracy. As an integral part of the great front of democracy against reaction, fascism and war which is being forged out of the daily struggles of the American people, we Communists take our place.[70]

At the time the field work was done upon this study, there was no great opprobrium either in Chicago or the nation as a whole attached to being a Communist, and both the party and individual Communists were tolerated and cooperated with on specific issues of benefit to Negroes.* This was true, even of "moderate racial" leaders. At one convention of the Communist Party in 1939, a Baptist Church choir was actually programmed and sang![71]

With the outbreak of the European war, however, and the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact in 1939, many Negroes who had supported the Communists in their fight against fascism began to have doubts. With the further clarification of the Communist "line" it became evident that the Soviet Union was pursuing a policy of "revolutionary neutrality" which meant for American Communists a drive to keep America out of war, to raise new slogans of "a quick transition to socialism," and to frequent criticisms of the New Deal as being pro-ally in foreign policy and "not radical enough" in domestic policy. It is too early to estimate the reper-

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*Such specific issues were Scottsboro, evictions, defense of Spain.

cussions of the inter-national situation on the Chicago community but it is significant to note that in line with the recrudescence of red-baiting throughout the country, at least one Negro paper carried a front page editorial:

NEGROES MUST STAND FOR AMERICANISM*

advising Negroes to abjure communistic leadership. Another outstanding Negro paper, the same week, carried a eulogistic editorial on the Daily Record, a periodical also reputed to be "Communist dominated," lauding it for its espousal of the Negro's cause.[73] The attitude of Negroes toward the Communists, has on the whole been opportunistic. The following types of attitudes are frequently expressed by people of all class levels.

> I'm thoroughly opposed to anything like it. There have been people from time to time who've tried to interest me in the Reds but I have no use for a bunch of people who do nothing more than try to overthrow a government and have no program or leaders who have strength enough to get more than a handful of followers. I think they all should be given a good whipping and run out of the country back to Russia where they belong.[74]

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> I won't go so far as to say that, but you know as well as I that if it wasn't for them the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon would be "6 feet under." I hear a lot of talk about them at work and I kinda sympathize, but as to saying whether we oughta all jump right in, I don't know.[75]

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*This editorial must be viewed in relation to the fact that it preceded by three days a National Labor Relations Board vote at one of the packing plants. The C.I.O. union had been charged with being "under Communist domination" which explains the tenor of the editorial, one sentence of which stated that Negroes ". . . cannot afford to cast their lot with any institution which appears to be shadowed and directed by communistic influences."[72]

Black Workers and the New Unions

The Negro community traditionally has been skeptical of [illegible] labor unions. Their working classes have been so because of the hostile attitude so often displayed toward them by white workers, [illegible] enjoyed by being ununionized in [illegible] interested in preserving a "docile" [illegible]. The middle and upper classes have tended to share the [illegible] labor movement, but they have been employed in "[illegible]", while the [illegible] has given consistent articulate [illegible]. Only a [illegible] of Negro workers and leaders, up to 1929, were either in unions, or suspicious of them as friends rather than enemies. [illegible] unions respectable and re-affirming their legality.

The dominant union in the Chicago stockyards in 1933 was The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, of which Horace Cayton states:

> Before [illegible] there had been [illegible] 200 Negro members in the entire [illegible] of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. [illegible] union campaign which followed [illegible], Negroes came into the union with the [illegible]. In January, 1933, there were "over [illegible] Negroes enrolled in [illegible] Chicago locals alone."[76]

The companies [illegible] "company unions," however, and Negroes began to drop [illegible]. [illegible], in many cases, did not wish to [illegible] with [illegible], also helped to deplete their ranks, and [illegible] organization [illegible] to take a stand against prejudice. [illegible] in Chicago [illegible] areas,

> . . . but even there the number of [illegible] holding elective positions was much smaller than would be expected [illegible] an organization whose effective existence [illegible] organization of Negro workers.[77]

The present C.I.O. union [illegible] the work of a rank and file "Committee of Workers" which [illegible] the C.I.O. to organize the industry. By May 1938, the Committee of Workers had organized one of the smaller plants and the C.I.O. sent in [illegible] miners to set up the United Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union. Dayton, writing in 1938, while deploring the A.F.L.-C.I.O. split, concluded:

> Of the two unions, there is little doubt that the United Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union is the more liberal. Not only has it made a very serious effort to forward straight labor principles, but it has also had to overcome the disadvantage of prejudiced actions of its predecessor in the field, the racially conservative attitudes of its individual officials, and the stigma of dual unionism. The entrance of the United Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union into the field has [illegible] liberal attitudes in the industry. . . . . [illegible] their numbers and importance determine whether the C.I.O. or the A.F.L. will be victorious and even whether the industry will remain organized at all.*78

The same author [illegible] the tool industry, which employs a large number of Negroes:

> Every effort [illegible] tool workers to organize themselves into unions since 1899 [illegible] Each failure has strengthened the management of the industry.79

Among the devices [illegible] and variously known as "employee representation" within a given plant--called by labor unionists, "company unions."

> Negroes were introduced to the company union during the period immediately following the war. . . . . Migrant Negroes from the South proved peculiarly susceptible to this form of organization, since the idea behind the company union (of maintaining a personal relationship between the employer and the employee) duplicated a southern pattern with which they were intimately familiar. The attachment which the Negro had [illegible] of employee in the South was quickly turned to [illegible] industrialists. A personnel manager

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*The C.I.O. organizer [illegible] United Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union [illegible] and is a very popular speaker at [illegible]. He is also popular among white workers' groups. At a large [illegible] in the Coliseum, the audience of some five thousand [illegible], mainly white, gave him an ovation exceeded only by that accorded John L. Lewis, and was as hearty than one extended the very popular Bishop Sheil of the Catholic Youth Organization.

of a large northern [illegible] in connection with one of the company clubs for Negroes, started in 1919:

> "We have found these clubs to be very beneficial inasmuch as they help to build up the family spirit in the shop, and on numerous occasions these clubs have, on their own volition taken in general practice and taught the others with a view of making them more efficient workmen. In this way the Employment Department has been helped very materially in bringing a better class of help into the organization. It is nothing uncommon to hear the colored man refer to it as 'our shop,' 'our baseball team,' 'our football team,' 'our lunch room,' etc. He naturally or unconsciously assumes this attitude because of the pride and interest he has in the place where he works."[80]

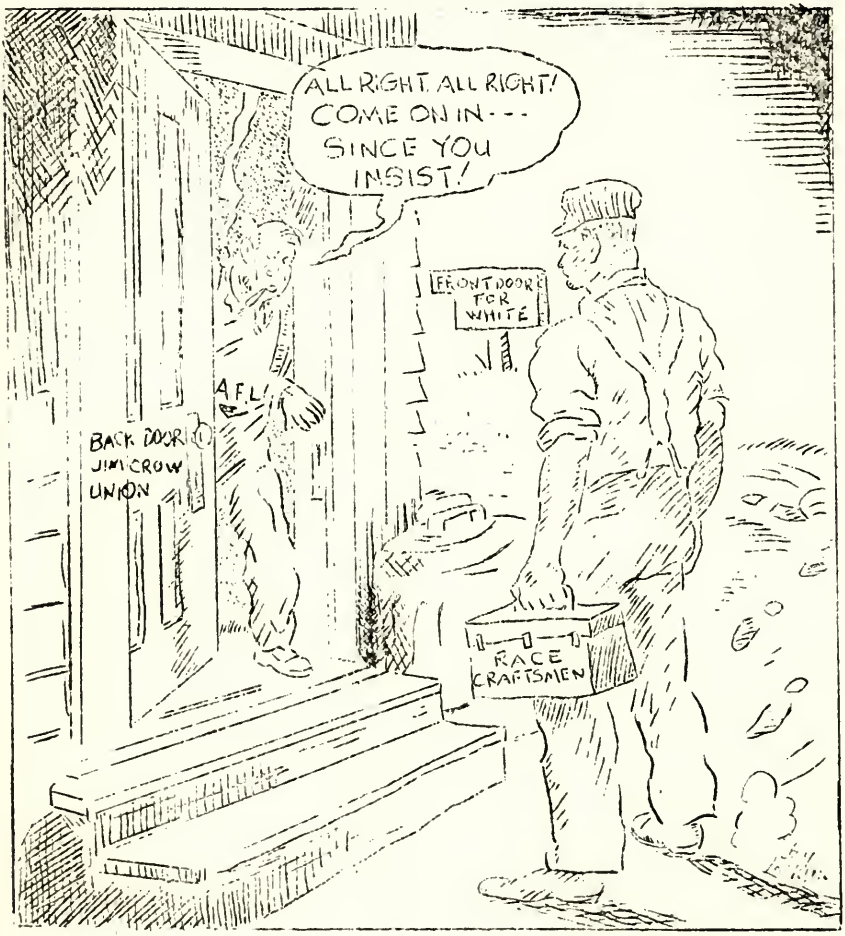
In 1919, the A.F.L. started a drive to "organize steel" asking for: (1) right to collective bargaining, (2) an eight hour day, (3) a pay increase, (4) seniority rights. It was necessary to call a strike. It was lost. Again in 1933 an attempt was made to organize the industry, and

> . . . . In spite of the lessons of the 1919 strike again no great effort was made to interest the Negroes. Cooperation was offered by the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but nothing was done by the C.I.O. to take advantage of this offer. Because the conditions under which colored people were forced to live were so deplorable, many Negro leaders gave their attention to the industrial problem during that period.[81]

From 1935 until the passage of the N.L.R.A. the A.F.L. operated continued "largely by the sufferance of a few employers . . . . as a conservative relic with a declining membership." In 1929, The Steel Workers' Industrial League was organized, and "opposed the craft union 'milk and water' policies of the American Federation of Labor" and in 1932 reorganized as the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union. It took a liberal position in relation to Negroes, as did its successor, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee:

> . . . . one can say that on the whole the officers and members of the new lodges realized the necessity for organizing Negroes into the white lodges and forced the national officers to modify their position. In social matters there was little doubt that the Negro was accepted because it was expedient, in view of his distrust and the absolute necessity of gaining his allegiance.[82]

'Helping The C.I.O. Win Popularity'



Chicago Defender, 1937

A Negro papor suggests to one union group that refusal to admit Negroes will build a rival group that bars discrimination.

. . . . . .

Another explanation of the greater success of the S.W.O.C. /Steel Workers Organizing Committee/ with Negro workers is to be traced to a change in attitude of some of the Negro leaders and organizations. The entire country had undergone a liberal education with respect to trade union organization since the advent of the N.R.A. and this had undoubtedly affected many of the liberal Negro public.[83]

. . . . . .

At the annual convention of the National Bar Association of Negro lawyers, which passed a resolution strongly endorsing the C.I.O. The campaign received the support of the National Negro Congress and although the organization did not have much strength or organizational unity, it helped to do much in the way of creating a friendly public opinion in the community which helped to counteract much of the prevailing hostile opinion. The leaders of the National Negro Congress cooperated with the officials of the S.W.O.C. in February of 1937 in organizing a national conference of Negro steel workers in Pittsburgh.* At this meeting numbers of Negro delegates representing various locals of the S. W. O. C. attended and their expenses were paid by their local lodges. One Negro local in Chicago had only two or three Negroes in the lodge but nevertheless with white membership raised the necessary expenses so that one of the Negroes might attend the meetings as a delegate.

. . . . The were numbers of whites who had greatly successfully overcome much of their racial antipathy and had formed warm and sincere friendships which reinforced the bonds of union brotherhood.

Innumerable examples of the role Negroes have been able to make a few steps up and in the occupational hierarchy of the plant and instances in which Negroes have been able to broaden their seniority through the union could be given. Also, many examples of changes on the part of white workers in both attitude and actual behavior could be illustrated. The question remains, however, fundamental changes in attitude or whether they are only temporary deviations in the Negro participation during [illegible] of the union can only be determined by time.[84]

In [illegible] in addition, Negroes at the time of the study were taking [illegible] in the work of the social workers, various groups of railway workers, the Workers' Alliance, and the

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*The pastor of the [illegible] church in Chicago, attended this meeting. On one occasion, in one of these three largest churches, the [illegible] and a labor [illegible] some visiting officials of a large [illegible] corporation--presumably that they could supply them with "loyal" workers--a plea for funds to [illegible] his church program, and emphasized the [illegible] needed jobs. He introduced a deacon to the audience as "one of the most faithful workers out at South Works." This pastor is not anti-labor, as such, and unions and the unemployed meet in his church; rather this represented an opportunity to help the race by helping the church and helping individuals, and was considered a legitimate means of making the most of an opportunity.

unions of a few other industries, obtaining positions of control and helping to determine policy.* A Negro woman was having "difficulties" at the difficult job of organizing Negro and white domestic workers into an organization. Unions were being accepted as a new but respectable part of the social structure of the Negro community by even the most conservative leaders, while the examination of the rules of interracial contacts was in marked contrast to that offered by the church. George McCray, a student of the union problem, after an intensive analysis concluded that:

> Secretly, the Negro churches in the community are mildly in favor of unions, especially C.I.O. unions, or are indifferent to the whole problem of unionism. Most of them are hostile to the American Federation of Labor.

Occasionally, however, a minister definitely takes the other side, as in the case below where a Baptist minister complains of the C.I.O.:[85]

> I told my story to the Ministers' Alliance and they told me that since the unemployed would not go to the church and serve God that we preachers would have to get to them as they were listening to the 'Reds,' and the 'Reds' were against the church. So I had three members working in the Ann Steel Company. I told them to invite others to come to church, but they got very little response from them, so one day after work I was out on the corner and started preaching. Some of them stopped to listen to what I had to say. So when I was through preaching I gave them some handbills and asked them to come to church the next Sunday, but only a few came, but I kept on going on the corner, it was near the plant and then the C.I.O. came on the scene, I told them that they should not pay any attention to it because the company had been good to them and it could be and they could not afford to strike because their families would suffer. When the company saw what I was doing they called me into a conference and asked me if I thought I could keep their employees from joining the C.I.O. I told them that I could but I would not do it for fun.

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*There was still a tendency to "take unions with a grain of salt" on the part of the rank and file of Negro workers, and the unemployed. In many cases they considered them as "rackets" or devices used by white workers to harm Negroes, especially in the building and printing trades. In industries like packing and steel, a large proportion of the Negro workers, however, were organized.

'The Fruits Of Standing Together'

Chicago Defender, 1937

A significant victory by an A. F. L. Union, predominantly Negro, is used by the press to illustrate the values of racial and labor solidarity.

SUMMARY

Racial Solidarity

In order to offset the evils which race prejudice exalts, it is deemed necessary to foster--at least as a temporary measure --racial solidarity.* Negroes must learn to act together--as Negroes--to combat internal divisions of class, religion, color shadings, sectional diversities, etc. They must not allow themselves to be divided by internal arguments, nor to be fooled by "the other fellow" (an indirect way of saying, "the white man"). There must be mechanisms for racial protection and racial advancement. It is at this point that serious difficulties arise, for the ideologies within the Negro race are manifold, the social problem complex, and the goal as Negroes requires subordination of [illegible]. Nevertheless, one of the most persistent pleas [illegible] community is that of action--utilizing race pride [illegible], for racial [illegible].

All [illegible] reflect, in some ways, an awareness of the [illegible], subordinate position of Negroes, and the conflict between [illegible] democratic ideals of the total society.** Such awareness is manifested in a variety of ways ranging from

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*Racial solidarity is distinguished from race pride by the fact that it involves overt behavior on the part of Negroes who act, or think they act, for and because of their identification with racial and associational circles.

**This has been ascertained by a careful study of associational constitutions and activities for 1937, even a special club paper, "Club Chatter" ran [illegible] on such subjects as OUR CASTE SYSTEM, THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF CO-OPERATION, and similar titles. Several clubs during 1938 suggested [illegible] in order to pool money for a fight against poor housing. Some have hope of starting "business for the Race."

the fulltime covert [illegible] in an organization such as the N.A.A.C.P. to the occasional contribution of a bridge club to some racial defense fund. These organizations bring to a focus the frequent expressions of need for racial solidarity, which run from the [illegible]ticism of the lower class housewife who has great hope for the race, but feels that: "They will never amount to very much unless they learn to love each other more and more as the days and years go by, so, therefore, I say what we need more than anything else is more love for each other, and then things will be better for us some sweet day," to the very calculating Negro business man who dreams of controlling the $39,000,000 annual Negro market, using even the "sacred" institutions to achieve his ends. Thus, a typical business man's exposition is as follows:

> The problem that we face today is can we so cement ourselves together that it will really be a case of "all for one, and one for all."
> One of the things that may help the public in forming a conscious attitude toward racial solidarity lies in the attitude of the ministers, who, when our people are looked upon as leaders. A talk from the [illegible] may bring all of the people who are assembled together to [illegible], for that is where they buy from white merchants [illegible] of habit, and do not stop to think of the benefit we could gain by patronizing their own merchant.
> There are [illegible] conditions to the present time yet, at the same time, there is plenty of room for all, each one will do some good and [illegible] all the good we can get, and more if possible.[86]

Between these extremes, lie innumerable [illegible] value programs for racial emancipation, all predicated on the attainment of racial solidarity and involving the substitution of "race pride" for a "caste mentality." A post office employee complains: "Our people are hit hard because they don't organize and try to work out their own salvation."[87] The same notion is expressed by an unemployed laborer:

> Education ain't gonna put them on the right track. They need to learn something about unity and race pride. The American white man has these Negroes full of his psychology and they can't think for themselves. Boy, I think it would be a good thing for these American Negroes to go to Africa or somewhere. Maybe they'd learn something about unity.[88]

These vague feelings about racial solidarity, and these criticisms of racial leadership are often crystalized in statements such as the following, where a hotel maid comments on the race problem, and suggests formal organizations as a "way out." She also expresses the current belief that Negroes should learn more about their history:

> The solution of the race problem rests with itself. The Negro as a whole must become race conscious, and form organizations that will bring the race issue before the public. The children should be taught that the race at one time was a shining example of civilization, and they should again try to reach this point.[89]

A substitute school teacher sums the matter up in answering a question as to the "greatest need for Negroes":[90]

> The greatest needs for Negroes, I would say, are: first, stick together; second, work together; third, stop fighting their leaders; fourth, develop more pride; fifth, take interest in their family and children; and sixth, stress education, business and general activities.

A housewife avers:

> . . . . the Negro problem, as a whole, is too much for me, and I do not know just what to say. . . . but I would like to see the Negro race come just a little closer together as a whole, and above everything else that I can think of, I would like to see them have more confidence in one another.[91]

Another woman, after insisting that "when the advancement of the race starts, it won't be by politics at all. It must be started by Christ Himself," in the next breath insists that Negroes should vote independently:

> Why, there are enough Negroes in Chicago to get anything they want. If our people would learn to stick together and trust each other, there are enough to do wonders for the race. . . . . You know, 'united we stand,' but ours is a house divided among itself.[92]

A hotel waitress thoughtfully arrives at the next conclusion:

> I do not know just what I would like to see happen for the Negro in Chicago above everything, but I do know that I would like to see many changes in the Negro as well as for the Negro. I do know this much, that we are divided against one another more than any race in the world. I would certainly like to see Negroes have more love for each other and have more confidence in one another.[93]

Another woman feels that the required solidarity has been encouraged by the depression, stating:

> I believe that the thing that holds us back most, is the fact that we are given to being jealous of one another. If one seems to be making a success, the others try to stop his progress. We lack the one quality that will make us a great people, and that is unity and cooperation. Since the depression has come I find that people are closer together than they have been before. The depression has its bad features, but out of everything bad must come some good, and the fact that the colored people are learning from it that unity is a great necessity is worth a great deal.[94]

A poverty stricken old-age pensioner was sure that:

> If the time will ever come when we colored people will feel that when one of us is in trouble that all of us are in trouble, and when we learn to have more confidence in one another, and feel that after all we are just one great big family, then we will be able to go places and do things . . . . we will not amount to much as a race until we are recognized as a race, and not as individuals.[95]

The proprietor of a tavern, after a trip to New York, compared the eastern metropolis with the "Windy City," stating, "The Negroes there are united and do things for each other, not with their hand out for a pay-off, but just because they are of the same race. These Chicago Negroes have not learned that." He, of course, wants to use this unity to support Negro business. And so, time after time, the theme is repeated:

> I have made a study of the Negro problem, and I find that up to the present time, there is no real solution, and the one thing that holds us back more than anything else is the lack of unity. It seems that we hate to see the other get ahead and instead of helping, we always hinder.[96]

> I realize that my future and the future of my children, if I have any, depends upon the cooperation of Negroes.
>
> I think Negroes ought to stick together more. When they go on a job they should help one another instead of fighting each other. . . . We ought to love one another like brothers and sisters.[97]

In assigning reasons for lack of unity, class antagonisms are often expressed. Thus, an ex-Pullman porter stated:

> The greatest trouble is now, Negro against Negro. The Negro don't believe in the future. The educated Negro in this city comes first, the laborer last. The educated young Negro gives us our lawyers and doctors for the next generation. The Negro needs to get together. Our population is so scattered. The Negro lawyer does business on Forty-third Street and lives out South. We have nine lawyers on Forty-third Street and they live out of the district.[98]

An unemployed worker contrasted American Negroes with other minority groups:

> You know I've seen colored people in many countries, but ain't none of them like the American Negro. He won't cooperate for nothing. In Cuba, the Negroes stick right together and in Puerto Rico, the same. See, I've been in the army and I've traveled plenty. I'm fifty-four years old now, and when a Negro walks up to me, I can more or less figure out what kind of fellow he is. This is the only country where Negroes don't stick together. Instead of Negroes trying to help each other here--they cut each other's heads off. The American Negro ain't no good![99]

Not only are there these generally held beliefs about the lack of and need for solidarity, but there are also definite beliefs about the causes of this racial weakness.

Leaders Who Don't Lead

One persistent tendency is to blame the Negro leaders for the failure of the Race to "get together." An employee of a white social welfare concern, after discussing inadequate housing, stated: "If our supposed-to-be leaders would get together, they could change many present conditions in Chicago and teach many of us that

don't know how to live, what to do, nor how to want to live."[100]

A W.P.A. laborer felt that the leaders should support "building programs": "I do not mind telling you that this is too much of a problem for me, but it does look like to me that our leaders could get together and do something for the colored people in Chicago."[101]

A young white gives some insight into the radical ends of solidarity, and illustrates a new left tendency to equivocate Negroes and Jews:

> What the Negro needs is the proper leadership of church and politicians. The Negro needs it beaten into his head to patronize Negro business. The Negroes can take positive action if they would. It is hard for Negroes to develop solidarity. Still I have faith and hope that the Negro will eventually go somewhere. He has not suffered like the Jew. The Negro needs a religious and racial solidarity--then he will begin to go places, I think.[102]

Another woman, who "would like to see the Negro race, as a whole, check upon themselves and see if they could not live a little better as a race," also criticized the leaders: "I think many of our supposed-to-be leaders in Chicago, first of all should live better lives and do more than the most of them do for the race in general."[103]

This criticism of leaders is sometimes compounded with an expression of class antagonism, as in the case of a hotel maid who complained of high rents and the need for businesses.

> Take if a colored man like the X's, and others could unite and put people to work instead of spending their money again to Europe. The majority spend their money back to the Old Country. The X's are doing wonderful putting people to work. Colored are as capable as the whites if they had the chance.[104]

Another "rank-and-filer" stated:

> Colored should do like the X's--put people to work. They got a food store at ----- Street and the "El." If we had more men like that we would get somewhere. Joe Louis should go into some kind of business. The men with money should open up business and put people to work.[105]

And so the story goes:

> I don't feel the Negroes are grasping every opportunity. I feel this is because the leaders are, in a way, betraying the race. They are not interested in the race as a group but only the race can help them as individuals.[106]

> I believe our leaders should get together. Social club leaders and leaders of our race, in all walks of life, should get together and fight for our rights and the things we are entitled to in general.[107]

[illegible] racial solidarity involves "protective se-

Don't Run to [illegible] ...ssy," many Negroes are sometimes complaining because
The White Folks [illegible]
"[illegible] all white folks kill we know."* One woman states that she thinks that "the only thing that holding back is our conduct," and in the next breath, says, "Well, I think the real thing wrong with the Negroes is that he just doesn't have brotherly love. . . . . They are always ready to knock and run to the white folks about something."[108]

A woman who states about herself, "I do not have much education . . . . but I know that I have a mind of my own. . . . . ," averred: "I do know that we must have help of the good white men, but at the same time I do know that we shall be very careful just what we let him know about us."[109]

The subservient position of the Negro is reflected in such statements as the following: "He (euphemism for Negro) ain't going to do nothing 'cause he'd [illegible] white man [illegible] to do for him, and he'd do anything the white man [illegible] $1.00."[110]

A South Atlanta, living in the community, states: "The Negro now depends on the white man to do everything and expects to reap the benefit

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*This is probably a "hangover" of a southern attitude. It would be interesting if a study could be made of such attitudes relating them to backgrounds of the informants expressing them.

from the white man's labor."[111]

A prominent Negro minister from New York, addressing a Chicago audience, was vehement in his denunciation of Negroes and the habit of "running to white folks."

> As long as a Negro stands around a white man's gate begging for crumbs from his table, he'll never respect you. The thing that is most damning to the Negro is the diabolical jealousy among themselves. When Negroes learn to respect themselves, then the whites and the entire world will respect them also. Some say there is envy among other races but, listen, narrow-minded, hide-bound, two-by-four "Negro strife" among the white people, stays among the white people. If they get to arguing about who is who, or who is to get a certain office, when it's settled it will go to a white man, but when Negroes get to fighting, it goes from the race to another race. The Negroes have never been able to recognize a leader. Every Negro wants to lead.[112]

An article that a proprietor of a barbecue stand sums up the matter with a call for a united front of all Negro organizations:

> Every social organization, every Negro newspaper, all churches and fraternal organizations should constantly keep pounding at the people, that the only way we will ever make any great success is that we must learn how to stick together, and learn how to cooperate. Business, social, first and all spiritual success depends on the amount of unity we present to the world.[113]

These demands for racial solidarity and for "leadership" imply some defined ends, and some intended action. Negroes are encouraged to "get together" for something--whether to resist violence, to increase their opportunities, or to feather the nest of some shrewd person who has learned to use "race pride" in the same way that Hitler used "Deutschland Uber Alles!" It is at this point that the idea becomes significant for a study of churches and associations, and at which we can begin to measure their effectiveness in mobilizing the Negro community. Despite these caustic criticisms, community problems are constantly being "solved" from day to day by the application of social work techniques and the organization of community pressures. This activity often lacks the dramatic intensity of a Race Riot or a "Spend Your Money Where You Can Work" campaign, but is effective none-the-less.

At the time of the study there were two organizations in the community which had as their primary purpose the co-ordination of civic activity on a city-wide basis: The Council of Negro Organizations and the National Negro Congress. The former organization was originally sponsored by the Urban League, and numbers between sixty-five and seventy organizations among its effective membership. The National Negro Congress, as its name implies, is not confined to Chicago, and therefore does not represent an indigenous growth. The Chicago Council, however, concentrates on local problems. These two organizations co-operate on many issues, the Congress, however, tending to concern itself more with labor problems, relief, and other issues where the economic problem is more apparent, but also taking part in the struggle for civil liberties, better housing, schools, etc. During 1937 and 1938, these organizations secured certain net gains through their insistent pressure, including the appointment of a Negro to the school board, "ground-breaking" on the Ida B. Wells low-cost housing project, and the alleviation of a relief crisis. They were able to involve hundreds of Negro churches in some sort of organized and concerted civic activity during the year.

In summary, it might be said that the work of "solving problems" in the Negro community devolves upon the trained social worker and politician, a few hard-working committees, and certain "sects" that specialize in agitation and protest. These few individuals consider themselves spokesmen for the race. In the final analysis, however, they work within certain economic and social limits which seriously limit their ability to secure gains for the community, and as a result, there is a tendency to blame leadership and the "Race" for what is probably inevitable under present conditions of existence.

PLANNING A JOB CAMPAIGN
-Conference Phase-

"Tuesday morning at the Council of Negro Organizations, eleven or twelve people were there including a representative of the Pittsburgh Courier /race paper/, one from the Mid-West Daily Record /labor paper/; Secretary of the Industrial department of the Central Y.W.C.A.; Executive Secretary of the Urban League; Representative of the National Negro Congress; Secretary of the Consolidated Trades Council; member of the American League for Peace and Democracy; Representative of Labors Non-Partisan League; Dr. _____ of the Catholic Workers Organization, and several others.

The executive Secretary of the Urban League opened the meeting and spoke about the need of jobs for Negroes and pointed out the milk industry on the South Side which did not employ Negroes. He introduced the "Y" secretary who spoke.

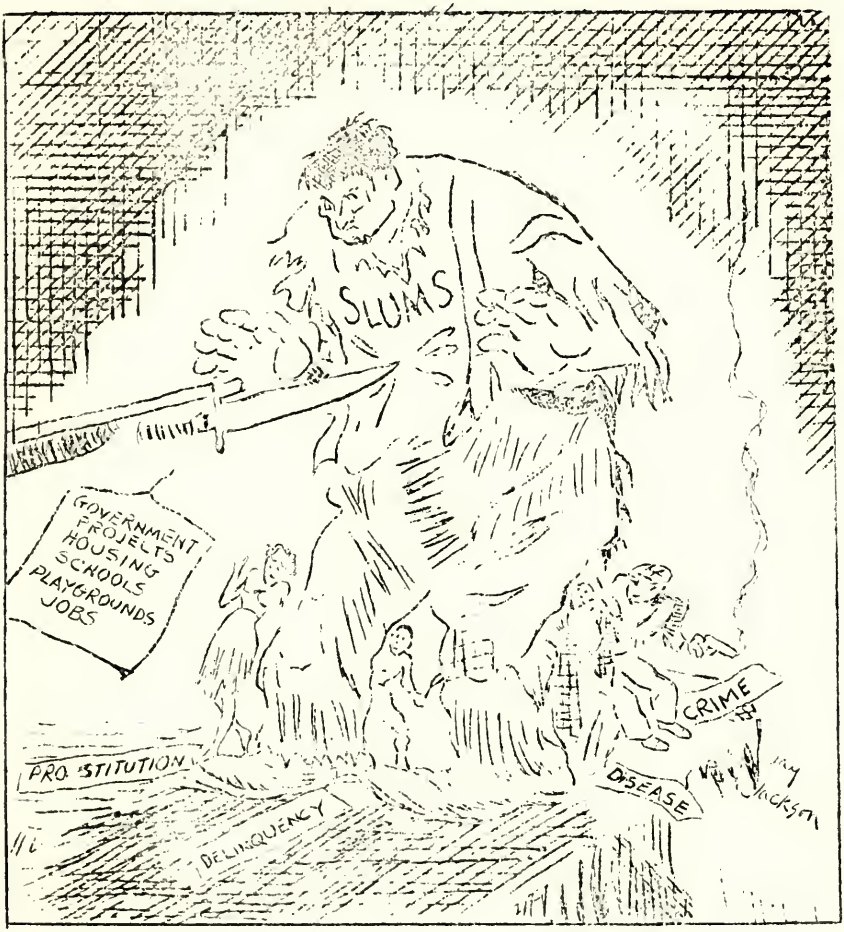
"We decided the method to be used. We would go to the _____ Milk Company and ask them for a signed statement that their policy was not to discriminate against Negroes and if not to state their reasons. We would then have a signed statement from the company showing of discrimination against Negroes in the matter of employment and that they would give employment to Negroes as drivers. We discussed the technique to be used and it was agreed upon. However, some of the members brought forth the idea that it had been done before and they had been given the run-around. But we decided to exhaust our remedies with them first and one was to get a good definite statement written and then go to the unions with the statement. If we don't get the statement we will then boycott the companies. We think publicity will help get the people with us.

We went to the _____ Dairy Company at 4326 Wabash Avenue. There was a great deal of discussion concerning the farmers and consumers -- also, labor was discussed at great length. Mr. X of the Daily Record brought up the statement in writing, and at first the company said they would not sign it----you had their word that they had nothing against the employment of Negroes, that it was the unions. This was the same sort of thing that had gone on before. We insisted upon the written statement. He said he would have to take it up with the association first. He said we could have the statement on the following Monday or the reason why it was refused. We also sent letters on the letter-head of the Consolidated Trades Council to the four other dairy companies stating about our meeting at the _____ company and asked them for written statements."

/Results were far from satisfactory and it was necessary to declare a "Milkless Saturday."/

(This account was written by a person who was present, and is presented exactly as written.)

'Forcing Them Back'



Chicago Defender, 1937

The issue which probably united the largest number of Negroes in 1937-1938 was the fight to secure immediate construction of the Ida B. Wells Housing Project. A militant Negro woman's name (heritage of the 1900's) becomes the rallying cry for social action.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Social Club Members by Desirability of Neighborhood

Miss Mary Elaine Ogden, in "The Negro Community--a Statistical Study," has grouped the 23 census districts 50 percent and over Negro into "best," "mixed," and "worst" areas, using indices of social desirability which are generally agreed upon by the middle classes of the average American community, which are shared by all classes, and which can be expressed statistically. A "most desirable area" would be one where:

(a) juvenile delinquency rates are low; (b) illegitimacy rates are low; (c) insanity rates are low; (d) infant mortality rates are low; (e) educational level is high; (f) general income level is high (as reflected in median rentals). A "worst" area would be one where the opposite is true. Such an analysis is based upon the assumption that these factors reflect other less easily measured traits such as stability of the family, strength of social organization, health and housing.

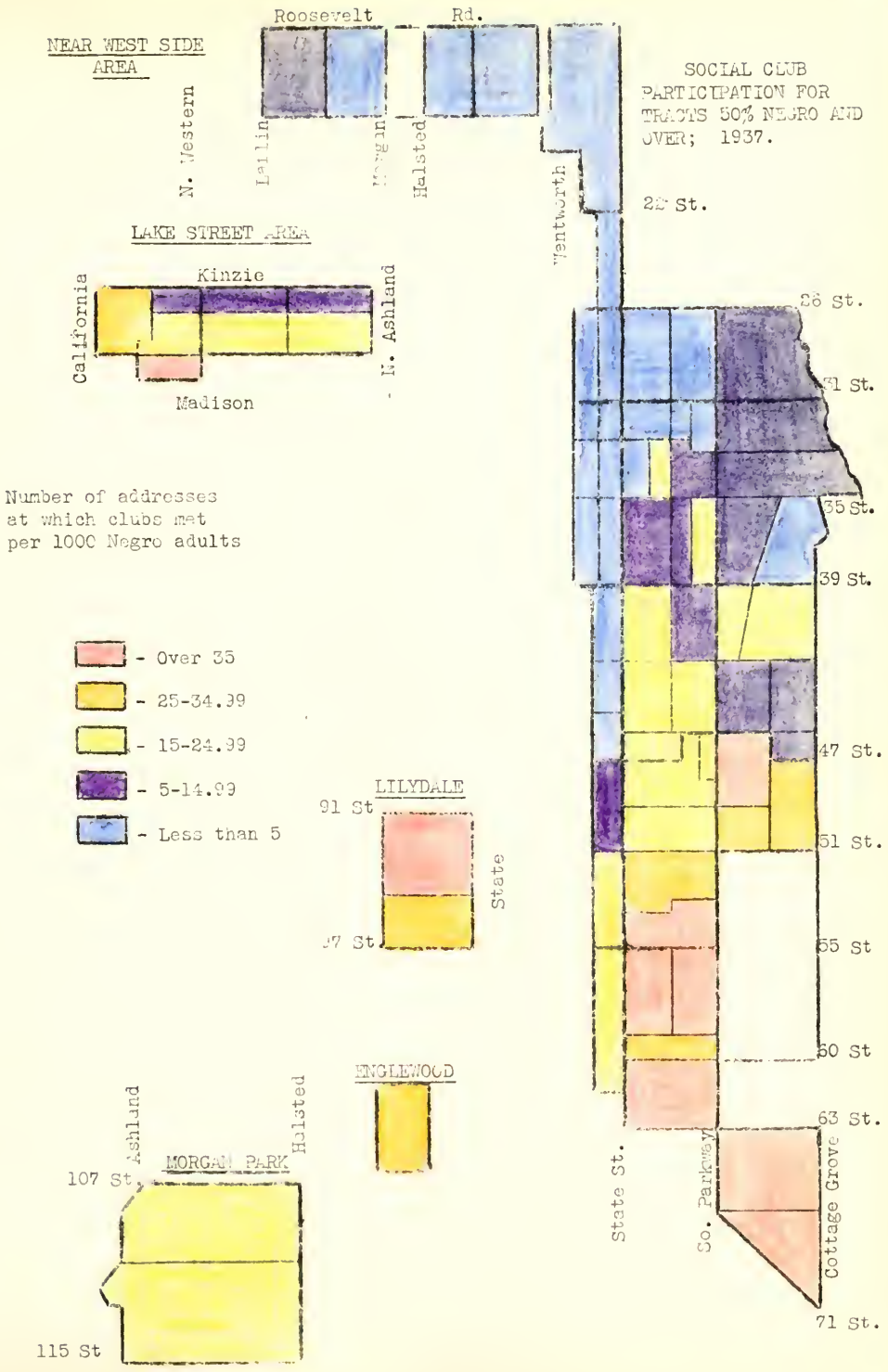
Over 4,000 addresses at which social clubs met in 1937 were tabulated by tract and district and then related to the six factors which were used to define "best," "mixed," "worst" areas. The correlations between the number of addresses at which clubs met per thousand Negro adults and the six indices are illustrated in the table below.

Rank	Factor	Co-efficient of Correlation	Standard Error
1	Median Grade Completed	.74	.05
2	Median Rental	.62	.07
3	Insanity Rate	−.59	.08
4	Illegitimate Births	−.49	.09
5	Infant Mortality	−.37	.10
6	Juvenile Delinquency	−.30	.11

The map on the following page summarizes the results of a tabulation of addresses at which clubs met and can be used to study the relationship between number of addresses and desirability of neighborhood.*

It is significant that no "worst" area had over fifteen addresses per thousand Negroes at which clubs met, while no "best" area had less than twenty-five, except one district west of State Street, one in the Lake Street area, one on the edge of Forty-seventh Street, and Morgan Park, a special case, since it is far from the "Black Belt" and represents an isolated suburban community. This seems to confirm what the interview material indicates, that there is a direct relationship between membership in social clubs and socio-economic status. This analysis is lent added weight due to the fact that one address may indicate more than one club meeting in apartment house areas. The chart on the next page summarizes the social data for a random sample of 133 club members.

*The reader should compare this map with that on p. 172 in order to ascertain in the boundaries of the "best," "mixed" and "worst" areas.


NEAR WEST SIDE AREA
Roosevelt
Rd.
N. Western
Halsted
Wentworth
SOCIAL CLUB PARTICIPATION FOR TRACTS 50% NEGRO AND OVER; 1937.
LAKE STREET AREA
Kinzie
California
N. Ashland
Madison
Number of addresses at which clubs met per 1000 Negro adults
- Over 35
- 25-34.99
- 15-24.99
- 5-14.99
- Less than 5
LILYDALE
91 St
State
LINCOLN
ENGLEWOOD
Ashland
Halsted
MORGAN PARK
107 St.
115 St
State St.
So. Parkway
Cottage Grove
71 St.
63 St.
60 St
55 St
51 St.
47 St.
39 St.
35 St.
31 St.
28 St.

SOCIAL DATA FOR 133 MEMBERS OF 13 ADULT FEMALE SOCIAL CLUBS: 1937

Case	Size of Club	Number of officers	Marital Status	Age-Range	Mean Monthly Wage	OCCUPATION[a]									EDUCATION[b]				CHURCH ATTENDANCE[c]						
						1	2	3	4	5	6	HBP	HO	T	C	H	F	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
1	13	8	M	30-40	$67	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	2	12	4	5	-	9	5	4	1	-	-	-	10
2	9	6	4M - 5D	25-30	$64	-	-	2	1	-	3	-	3	9	-	2	6	8	-	5	2	-	-	-	7
3	7	6	M	25-35	$64	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	3	7	2	5	-	7	-	1	2	2	-	-	5
4	13	7	6M - 4S ID - 2W	20-30	$52	-	-	-	1	3	7	-	1	12	-	11	2	13	4	-	1	-	-	-	5
5	12	10	9S	25-35	$50	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	12	-	7	1	8	-	3	-	1	-	-	4
6	12	8	2M	24-30	$50	-	-	-	2	-	7	-	-	9	-	10	-	10	5	2	-	4	-	-	11
7	16	8	5S	15-25	$50	-	-	6	2	-	-	-	4	12	-	16	-	16	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
8	9	-	3S -1M 3W -1D 8M- 2S	25-35	$50	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	1	2	5	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
9	13	8	3D	20-25	$50	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	2	9	1	7	2	10	8	-	-	2	-	-	10
10	18	5	10M -3W	-	$50	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	11	13	-	-	17	17	-	-	3	6	-	-	9
11	10	-	5M -5D	25-35	$36	-	-	-	5	-	4	-	1	10	1	1	8	10	2	1	2	-	-	-	5
12	7	7	M	20-30	-	-	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	7	3	4	-	7	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
13	9	7	6M-2S ID	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	6	-	9	-	9	-	-	4	2	-	-	6
TOT	133	12	-	-	-	1	3	18	23	16	33	-	29	123	12	79	41	132	27	16	21	17	-	-	81
AVG. & PERCENT					$53	1	2	15	19	13	27	-	23	100	9	60	31	100	33	20	26	21	-	-	100

(1) M = Married; S=Single; D= Divorced; W = Widowed.

(a) Occupation: 1-Professional; 2-Proprietors, Managers, and Officials; 3-Clerks and Kindred Workers; 4-Skilled Workers; 5-Semi-skilled Workers; 6-Unskilled Workers; HBP - Housewife, business or Professional husband; HO-Housewife, others

(b) Education: C-Some college training; H-some high school training; F-some elementary school training.

(c) Church Attendance: (1) Baptist; (2) Negro Methodist; (3) White controlled bodies; (4) Community Church; (5) Holiness; (6) Spiritualist.

APPENDIX II

The following tables, charts and maps indicate some of the relationships between type of neighborhood and distribution of churches. The first of these deals with the number of all churches worshipping in all types of buildings and in buildings not primarily designed for church use. The table is illustrated by the charts on the following page. It is significant to note that the proportion of Baptist and Holiness churches increases noticeably as we move from the "best" toward the "worst" areas, indicating that these churches (since the bulk of them are small neighborhood churches) serve the needs of the low income areas, thus suggesting both the handicaps and opportunities facing these denominations. "White Bodies" and Community churches, on the other hand, decrease as we move from "best" to "worst" areas. This is due partly to the fact that Negro congregations have "inherited" white churches in the better neighborhoods which were "abandoned" as the Negroes moved in, and partly to the fact that members of these churches are on the whole a higher income group, maintaining contacts with white boards which have been able to assist both financially and in the planned placing of edifices. It is also evident from the same table that Baptist, Spiritualist and Holiness churches have more than their proportionate share of churches worshipping in "non-edifices" in all areas. In the "best" areas they account for all such churches.

The maps following the "pie chart" relate the distribution of churches to both "desirability of neighborhood" and density. Ebenezer and Pilgrim are two of the largest churches in the city, each having claimed memberships of over 10,000, and "sustaining memberships" of over 1,500. Pilgrim situated as it is close to the "worst" area draws over 80 per cent of its sustaining membership from districts over a mile south of the church, although 54 per cent of its Sunday School children come from within a mile of the church. Ebenezer is close to the center of density and draws the bulk of its membership from an area of two miles around the church.

Bethesda Baptist Church and the Church of the Good Shepherd, Congregational are both churches of less than 1,000 "sustaining members" and have "compact parishes" which fall within the "best" areas and are not directly related to density. These churches are, however, in areas that are rapidly becoming "mixed," and are attempting to utilize a community house program to meet the needs of their changing communities.

The final map of the aggregate membership of three churches affiliated with "white bodies" and with a slightly higher income-education group indicates that they tend to draw their members predominantly from areas south of Forty-seventh Street and east of State Street.

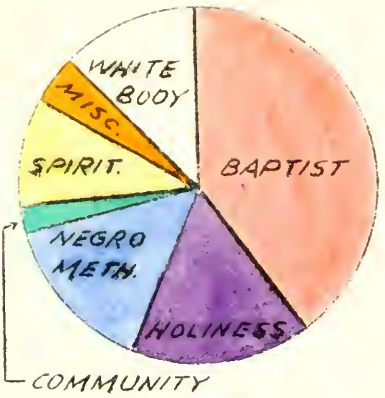
PROPORTION OF [illegible] NOT [illegible] IN EDIFICES, BY DENOMINATIONAL [illegible] AND DESIRABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD: 1938

Rank[a]	Denominational Group by Type of Area	All Churches Per cent	Other Buildings[b] Per cent	Proportion of Non-Edifices Per cent: Less Than Their Share	Proportion of Non-Edifices Per cent: More Than Their Share
	BEST AREA				
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	---	---
1	White Bodies	12.3	3.1	9.[illegible]	---
2	Negro Methodists	14.2	11.0	[illegible]	---
3	Miscellaneous	4.7	3.1	1.[illegible]	---
4	Community	2.8	1.6	1.[illegible]	---
5	Baptists	33.6	43.2	---	2.6
6	Spiritualists	9.4	15.6	---	6.2
7	Holiness	17.0	23.4	---	6.4
	MIXED AREA				
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	---	---
1	White Bodies	4.4	.6	3.8	---
2	Negro Methodists	7.4	5.3	2.1	---
3	Community	2.0	1.8	.2	---
4	Baptists	43.6	44.4	---	.8
5	Miscellaneous	6.4	7.7	---	1.3
6	Holiness	22.3	24.2	---	1.9
7	Spiritualists	13.9	16.0	---	2.1
	WORST AREA				
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	---	---
1	Negro Methodists	7.1	3.1	4.0	---
2	White Bodies	2.7	1.1	1.6	---
3	Community	.9	1.1	---	.2
4	Miscellaneous	1.5	2.3	---	.8
5	Baptists	51.8	52.6	---	.8
6	Spiritualists	8.9	10.5	---	1.6
7	Holiness	24.1	26.3	---	2.2

[a]Rank determined by excess of Edifices over Other Buildings.

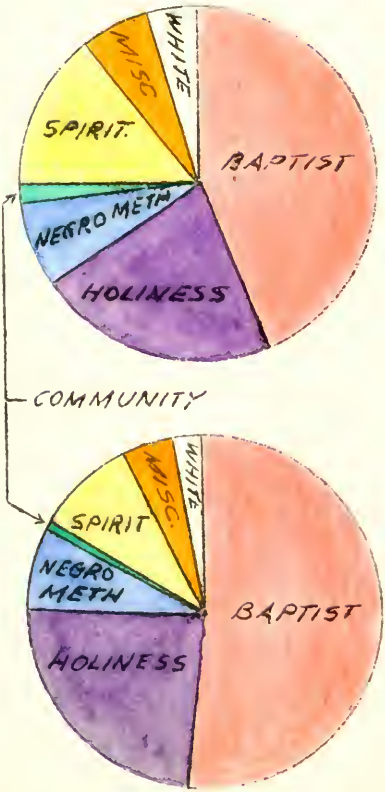
[b]Other Buildings: Store fronts, Houses, Facades, Garages, Halls, Theaters.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONAL GROUP WITHIN BEST, MIXED, AND WORST AREAS OF THE 23 DISTRICTS, 50 PER CENT NEGRO AND OVER.[a]



BEST AREA

	Per Cent
1. Baptist	39.6
2. Holiness	17.0
3. Negro Methodists	14.2
4. White Bodies	12.3
5. Spiritualist	9.4
6. Misc.	4.7
7. Community	2.8



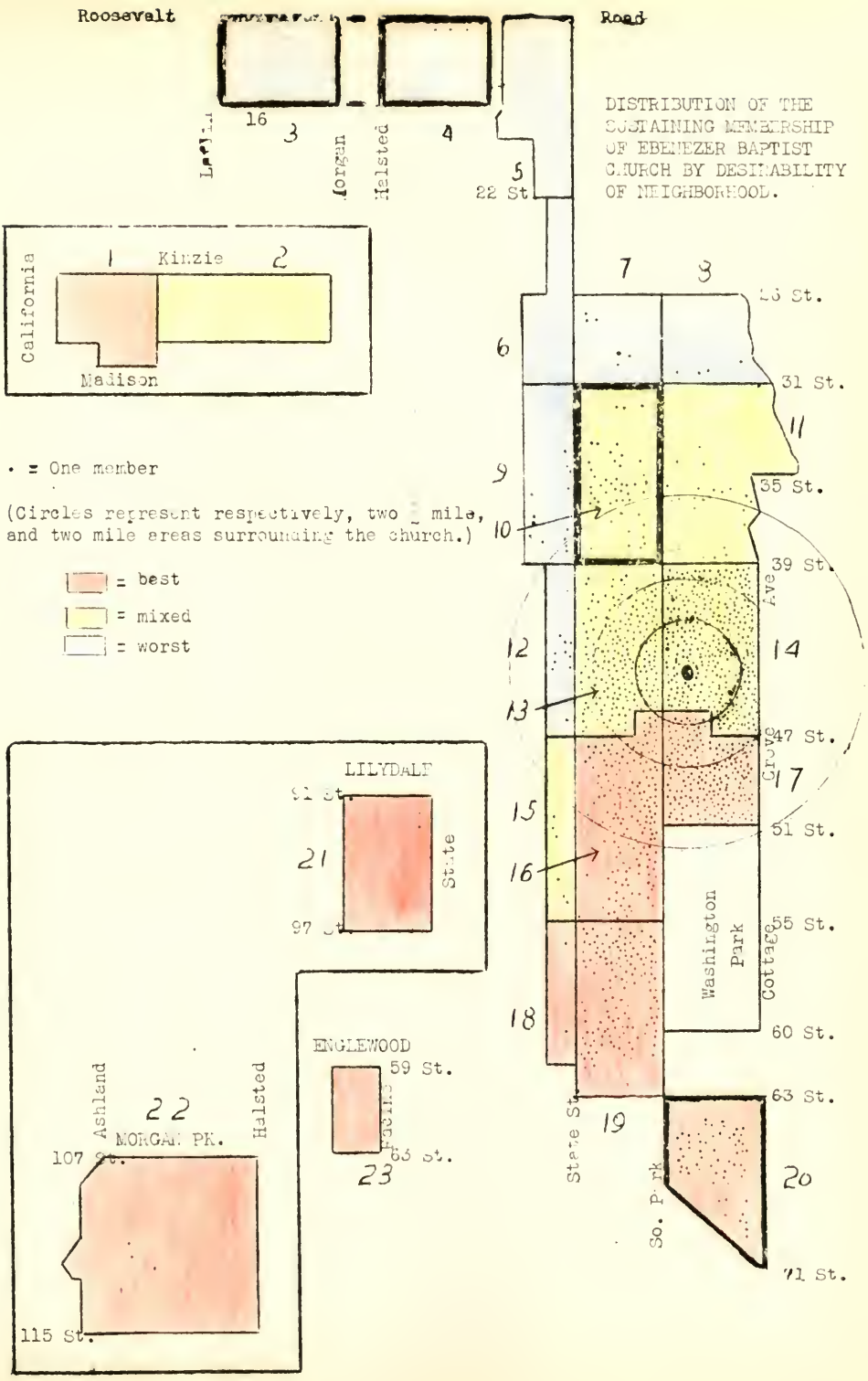
MIXED AREA

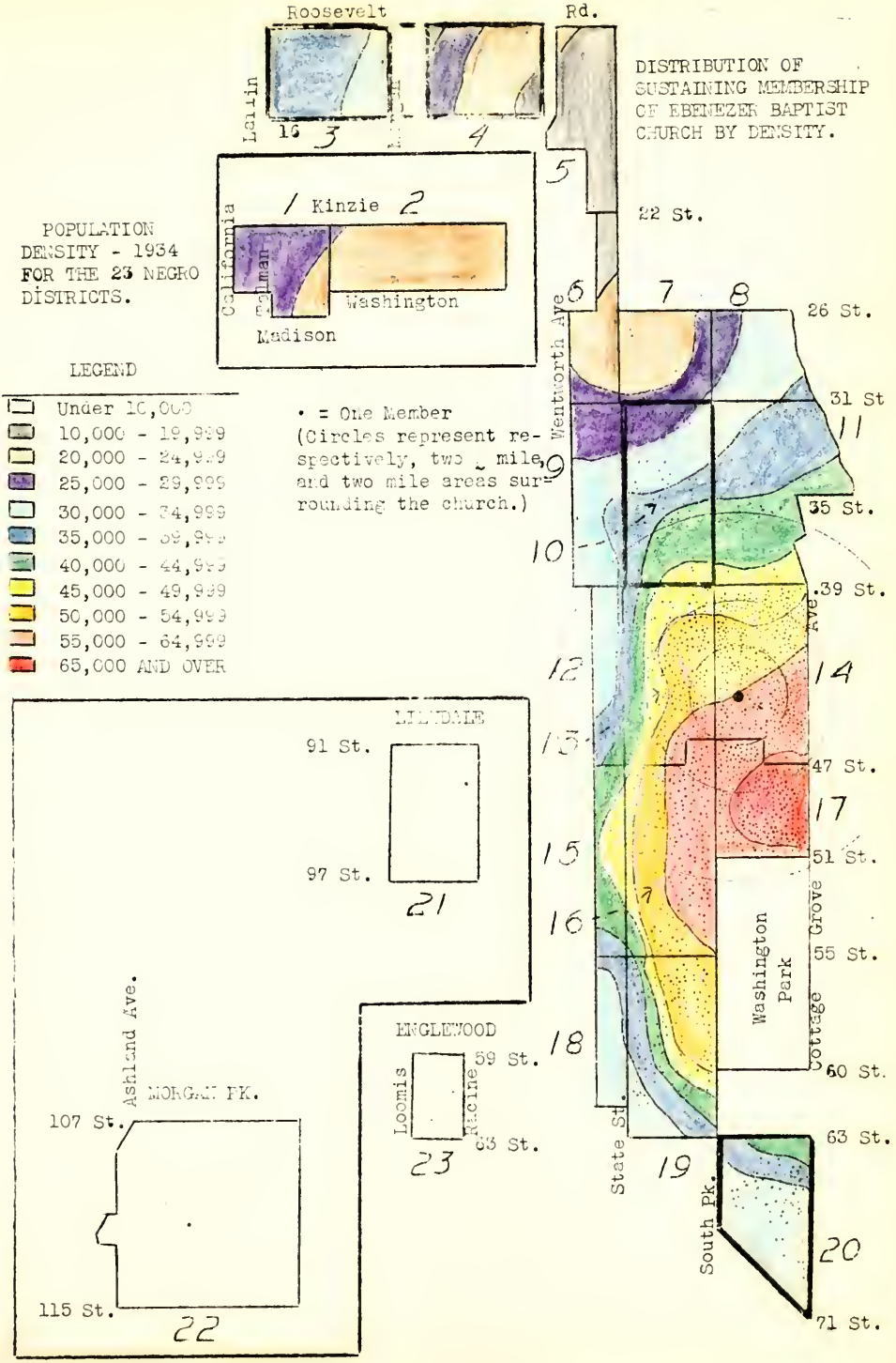
	Per Cent
1. Baptist	43.5
2. Holiness	22.3
3. Spiritualist	13.9
4. Negro Methodist	7.4
5. Misc.	6.4
6. White Bodies	4.5
7. Community	2.0

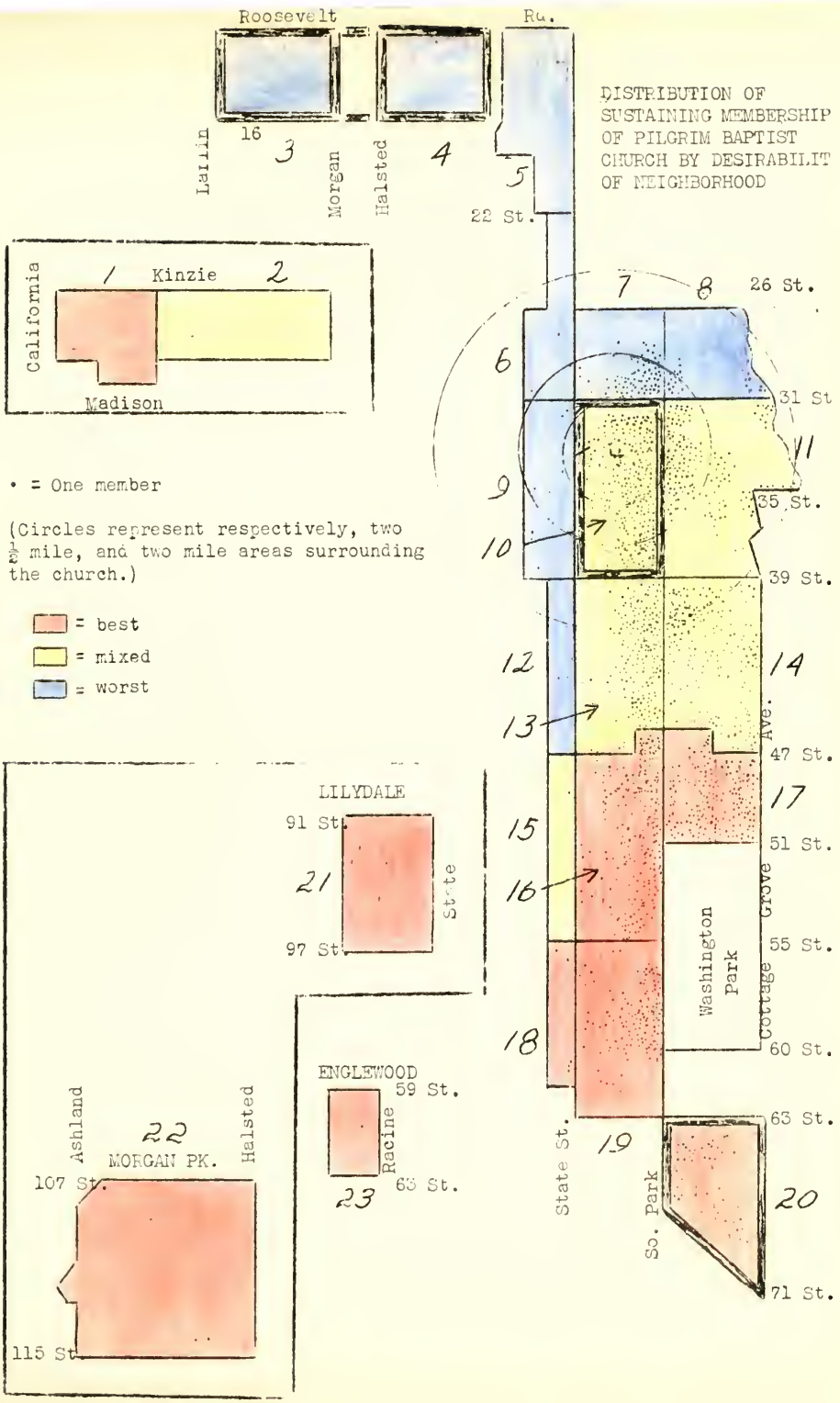
WORST AREA

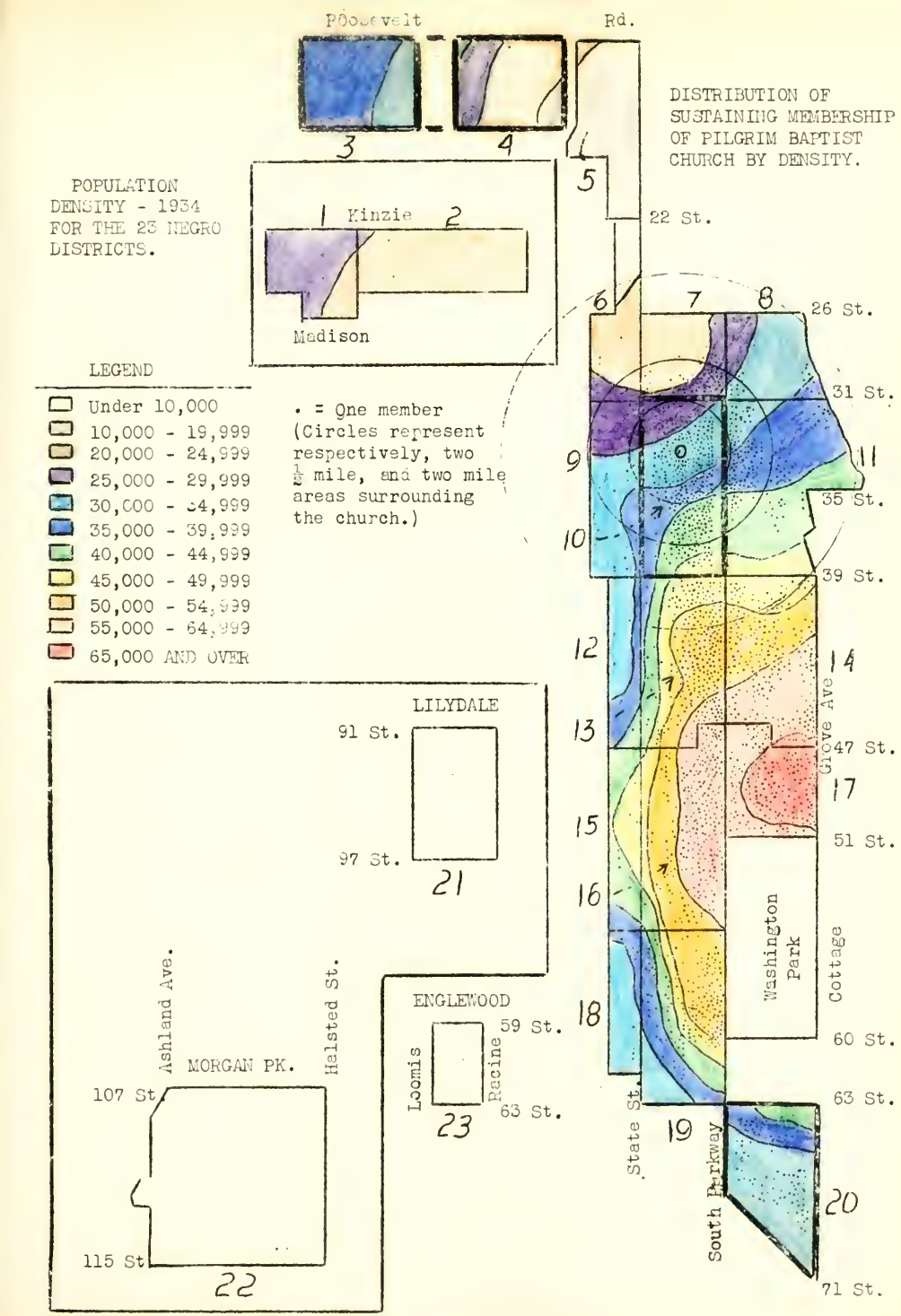
	Per Cent
1. Baptist	51.8
2. Holiness	24.1
3. Spiritualist	8.9
4. Negro Methodist	7.1
5. Misc.	4.5
6. White Bodies	2.7
7. Community	.9

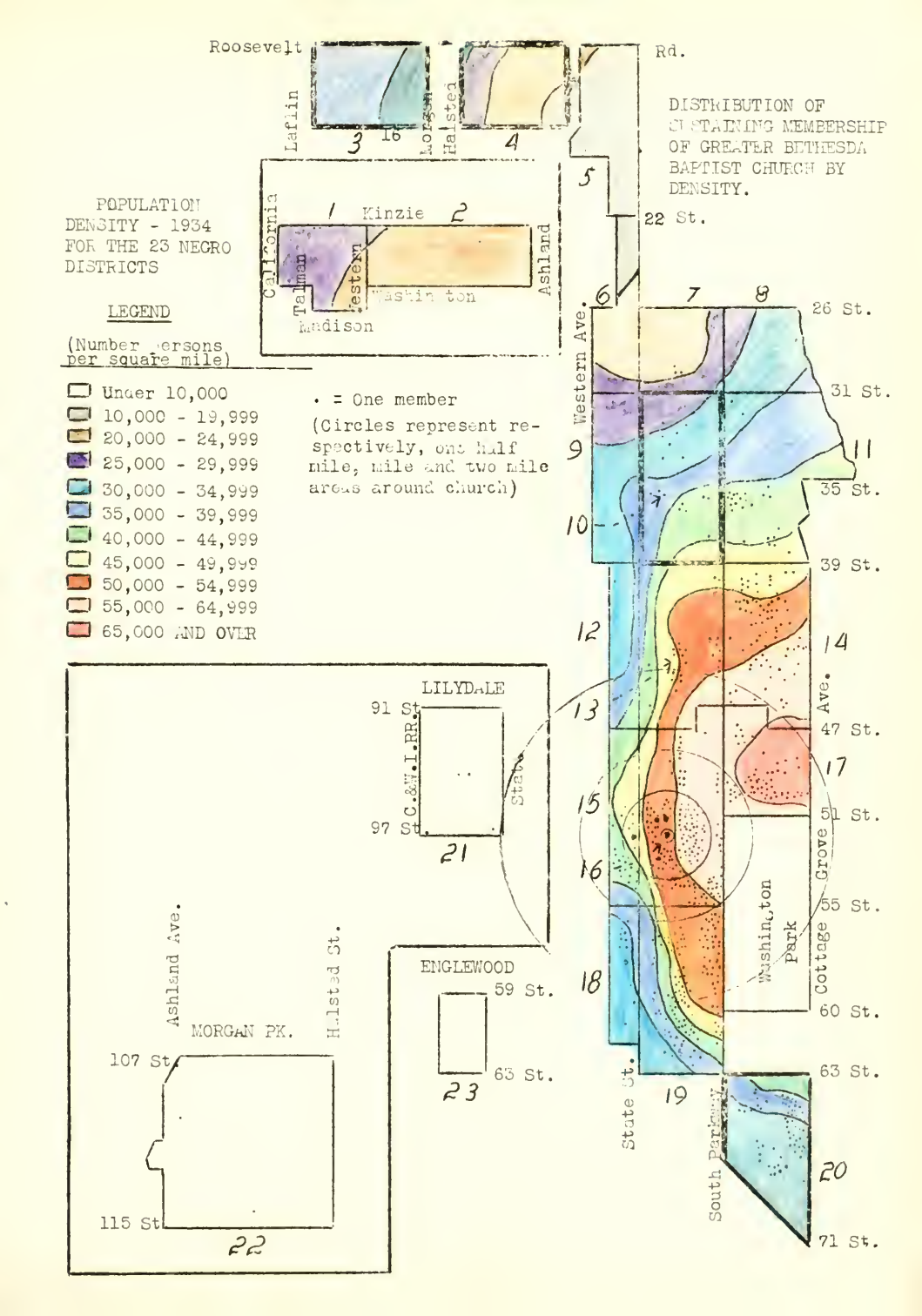
[a]Church data collected in field survey, 1938; Social data on districts from Chicago Census 1934.

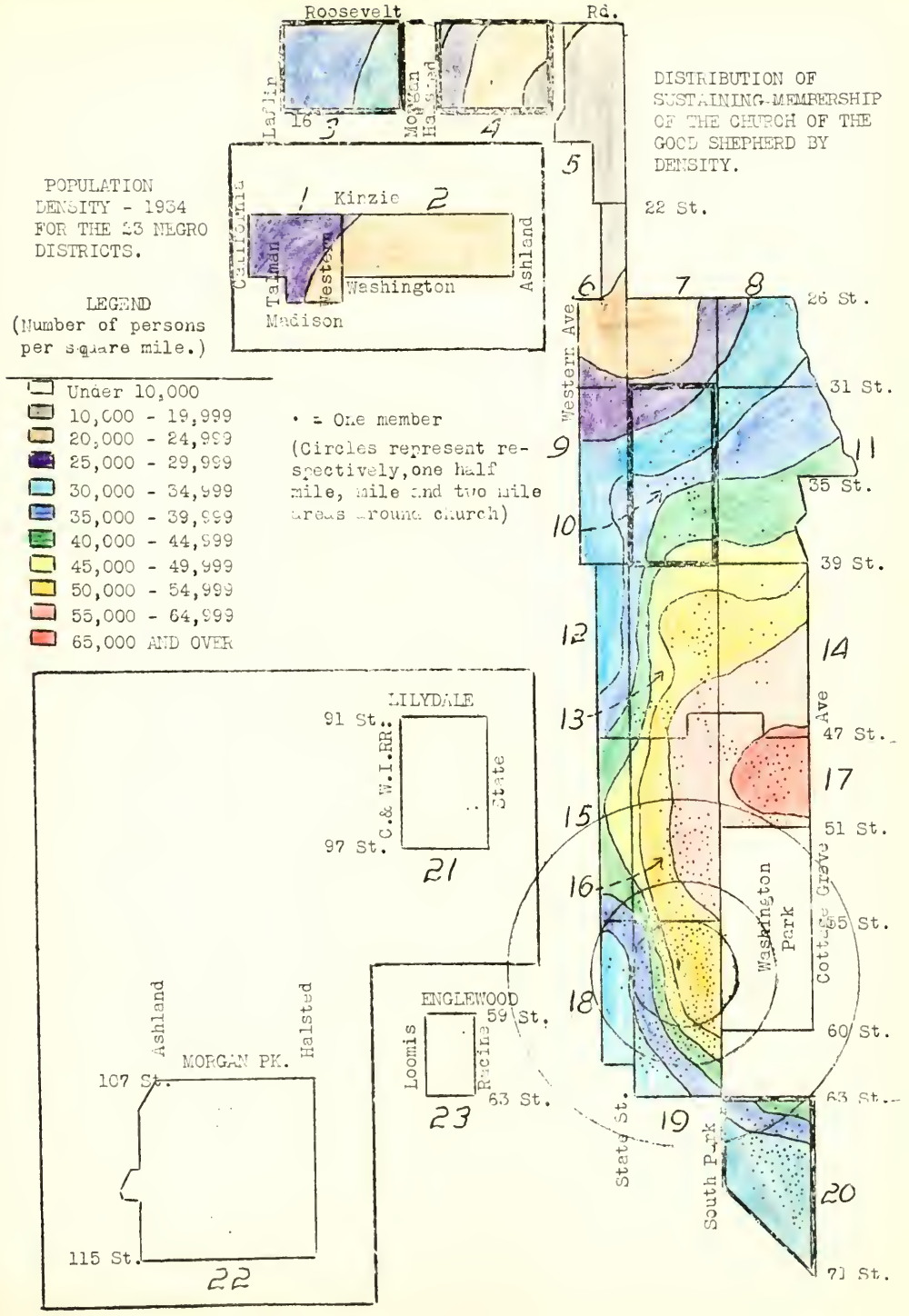

Roosevelt
Road
16
3
Morgan
Halsted
4
5
22 St
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH BY DESIRABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD.
California
1
Kinzie
2
Madison
7
8
6
31 St.
11
9
35 St.
10
39 St.
Ave
12
14
13
47 St.
Grove
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
Cottage
55 St.
18
60 St.
63 St.
19
State St.
20
So. Park
71 St.
LILYDALE
21
State
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
23
Halsted
Ashland
22
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.
• = One member
(Circles represent respectively, two mile, and two mile areas surrounding the church.)
= best
= mixed
= worst

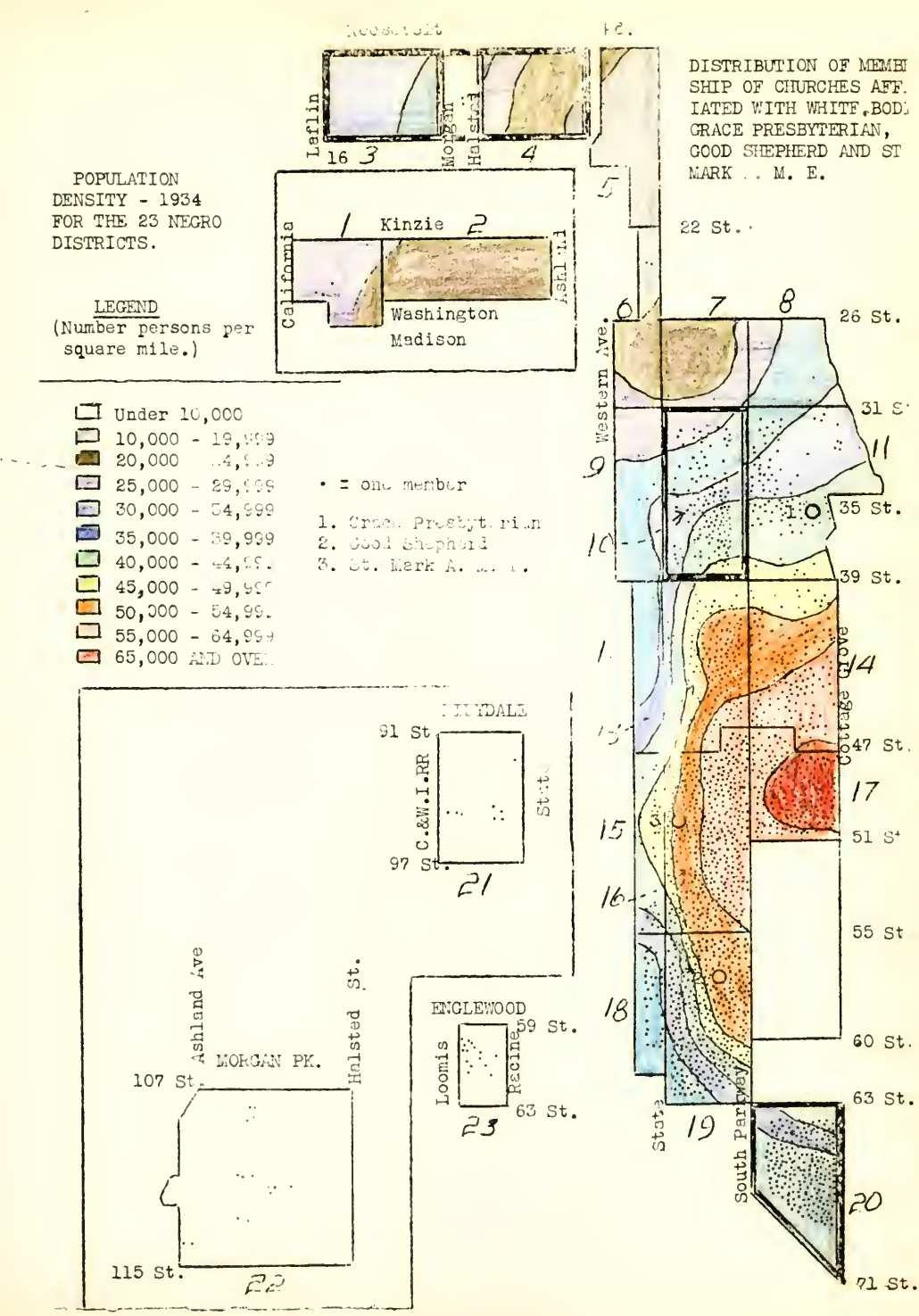

DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS.
LEGEND
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = One Member
(Circles represent respectively, two ½ mile, and two mile areas surrounding the church.)
Roosevelt Rd.
Larkin
California
Kinzie
Lehman
Washington
Madison
22 St.
Wentworth Ave.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
Ave.
47 St.
51 St.
Grove
55 St.
Cottage
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
South Pk.
71 St.
Washington Park
LIVINGSTONE
91 St.
97 St.
21
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
63 St.
Loomis
Racine
23
Ashland Ave.
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.
22
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20


DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH BY DESIRABILIT OF NEIGHBORHOOD
Roosevelt
Ru.
Larrin
Morgan
Halsted
16
3
4
5
22 St.
California
Kinzie
Madison
1
2
7
8
26 St.
6
31 St
11
9
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
13
Ave.
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
Grove
Cottage
55 St.
18
60 St.
63 St.
19
State St.
So. Park
20
71 St.
LILYDALE
91 St.
21
St-te
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Racine
63 St.
23
Ashland
22
MORGAN PK.
Halsted
107 St.
115 St
• = One member
(Circles represent respectively, two ½ mile, and two mile areas surrounding the church.)
= best
= mixed
= worst


DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS.
LEGEND
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
. = One member
(Circles represent respectively, two 1/2 mile, and two mile areas surrounding the church.)
Roosevelt Rd.
22 St.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
47 St.
51 St.
60 St.
63 St.
71 St.
Kinzie
Madison
Grove Ave
Washington Park
Cottage
State St.
South Parkway
LILYDALE
91 St.
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
63 St.
Loomis
Racine
MORGAN PK.
107 St
115 St
Ashland Ave.
Halsted St.
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23


Roosevelt Rd.
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
3
16
4
5
22 St.
DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF GREATER BETHESDA BAPTIST CHURCH BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS
LEGEND
(Number persons per square mile)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
. = One member
(Circles represent respectively, one half mile, mile and two mile areas around church)
California
1
Kinzie
2
Ashland
Taylman
Western
Washington
Madison
6
7
8
26 St.
Western Ave.
31 St.
9
11
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
Ave.
13
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
55 St.
Washington Park
Cottage Grove
18
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
19
South Park
20
71 St.
LILYDALE
91 St.
C.&W.I.RR.
97 St.
21
State
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
63 St.
23
Ashland Ave.
Halsted St.
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.
22


DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS.
LEGEND
(Number of persons per square mile.)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = One member
(Circles represent respectively, one half mile, mile and two mile areas around church)
Roosevelt Rd.
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
Kinzie
Ogden Ave.
Talman
Western
Washington
Madison
Ashland
22 St.
Western Ave.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
Ave
47 St.
51 St.
Cottage Grove
Washington Park
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
South Park
71 St.
LILYDALE
91 St.
C.& W.I.RR.
State
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
MORGAN PK.
Ashland
Halsted
107 St.
115 St.
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23


DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP OF CHURCHES AFFILIATED WITH WHITFIELD, BOOD GRACE PRESBYTERIAN, GOOD SHEPHERD AND ST MARK . . M. E.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS.
LEGEND
(Number persons per square mile.)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = one member
1. Grace Presbyterian
2. Good Shepherd
3. St. Mark A. M. E.
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
Kinzie
California
Ashland
Washington
Madison
22 St.
Western Ave.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
Cottage Grove Ave
47 St.
51 St.
55 St
60 St.
63 St.
South Parkway
71 St.
HYDE PARK
91 St.
97 St.
C.&W.I.R.R.
State
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
63 St.
Loomis
Racine
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.
Ashland Ave
Halsted St.

APPENDIX III

Churches in District 10

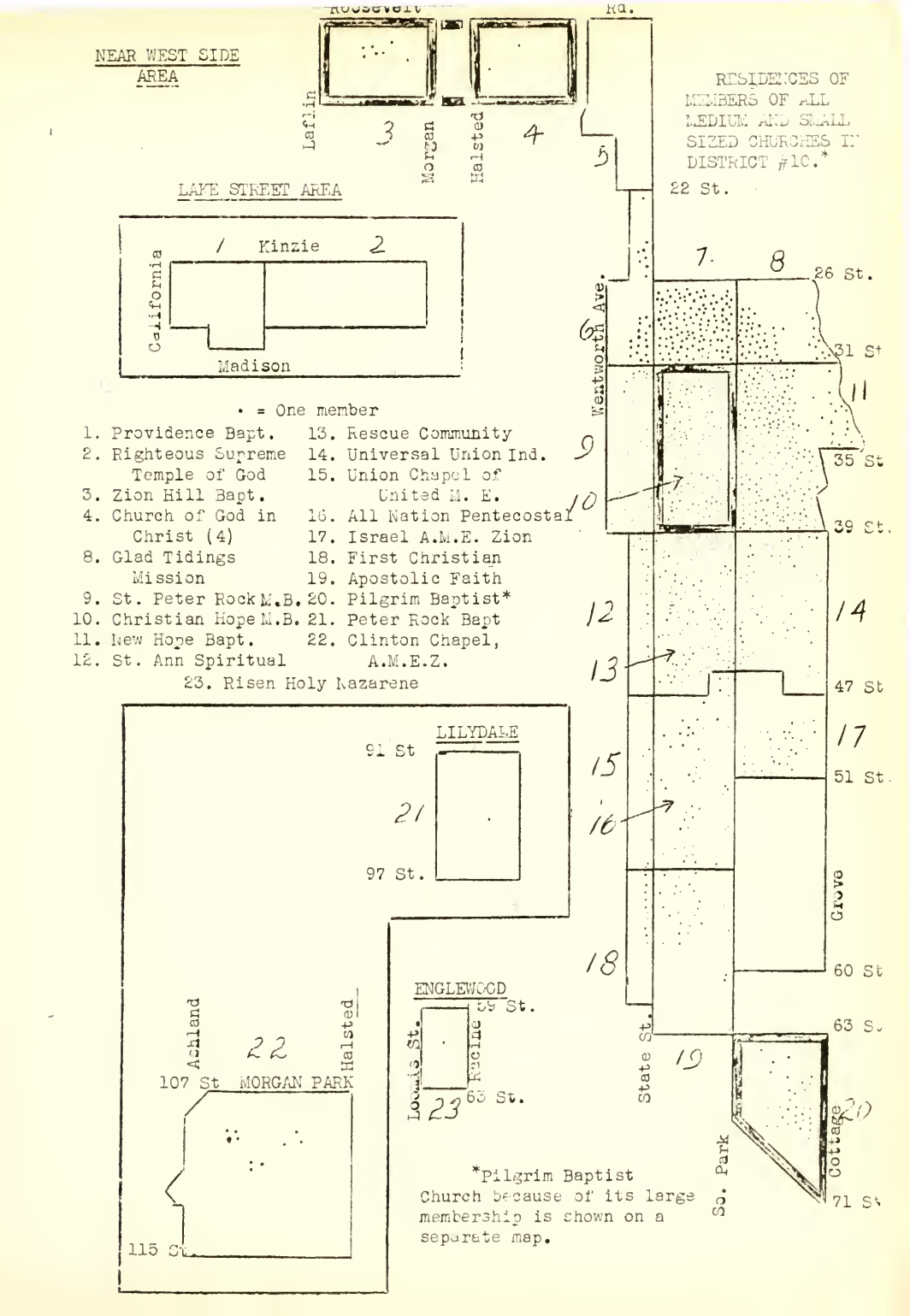
In order to test some of the hypotheses which grew out of this study, Miss Joy Schultz, research assistant, made a very detailed analysis of two selected areas, District 10, "an area in transition" and District 3 and 4 on the West Side, an area in an advanced state of deterioration. Reference has already been made to the West Side study. (See pp. 206 and 207). There were 23 churches in District 10, including one of the three largest in the city-Pilgrim Baptist (referred to in previous section). The map on the next page represents a spotting of the membership of all the churches in the area with the exception of the very large church. It is apparent that these churches, in the aggregate, tend to draw their sustaining membership, in the main, from the immediate vicinity. Pilgrim, on the other hand, draws its members from a much wider area. The third map compares the membership distribution of one relatively new Baptist church in the district with that of an older Presbyterian church in an adjoining district. It will be noted that the two types of parishes are markedly different, the Presbyterian parish being more scattered with a heavy concentration in Districts 17, 19, 20, all "best areas." This is due partly at least to the gradual southward movement over a period of years of its clientele coupled with the competitive disadvantage of being located in an area where house-to-house canvasses indicate an overwhelming preference for the Baptist denomination.

Of the 45 churches in the area only seven worship in edifices. Something of the economic level can be gleaned from the fact that of the 24 members of one storefront, the pastor earns his living as a W.P.A. laborer and 13 of the members are on relief.

The pastor of one of these smaller churches commented, "We do not have men from all walks of life in our church. We don't have lawyers and doctors and all those. . . . I do wish we had business men, lawyers and doctors in the church. Some of our members are actually begging."

In contrast to these smaller churches is Pilgrim with its thousands of members, a Sunday School of 450 (50 per cent of the children coming from the area immediately around the church), and an average Sunday collection of $40.00. There is a great deal of civic and community consciousness expressed by the leaders of this church who want to see a "recreation center" developed and who now sponsor a co-operative store. The church is a six-day-a-week one, with a program varied in content and levels of appeal.

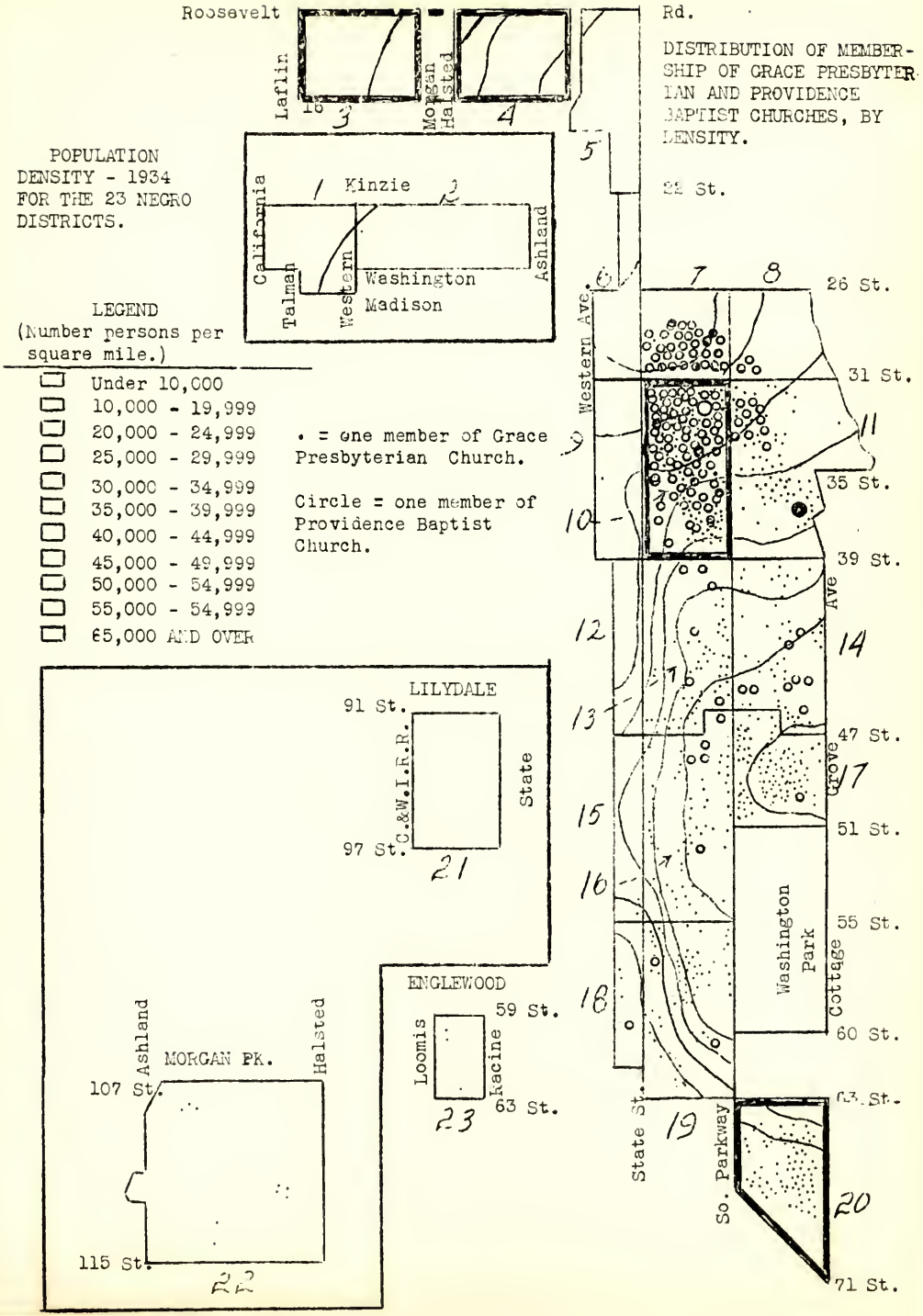
Providence represents a church developed through the energetic effort of a minister and his wife who went from house to house for converts. The Superintendent of the Sunday School remarked: "She was going from door to door trying to get people to come to church in her house. To me that was funny. . . . So out of pure curiosity I went. . . . That very night I joined." Most of the members are elderly people from the South.



• = One member

1. Providence Bapt.
2. Righteous Supreme Temple of God
3. Zion Hill Bapt.
4. Church of God in Christ (4)
8. Glad Tidings Mission
9. St. Peter Rock M.B.
10. Christian Hope M.B.
11. New Hope Bapt.
12. St. Ann Spiritual
13. Rescue Community
14. Universal Union Ind.
15. Union Chapel of United M. E.
16. All Nation Pentecostal
17. Israel A.M.E. Zion
18. First Christian
19. Apostolic Faith
20. Pilgrim Baptist*
21. Peter Rock Bapt
22. Clinton Chapel, A.M.E.Z.
23. Risen Holy Nazarene

*Pilgrim Baptist Church because of its large membership is shown on a separate map.


Roosevelt Rd.
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
3
4
5
DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP OF GRACE PRESBYTERIAN AND PROVIDENCE BAPTIST CHURCHES, BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934 FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS.
California
Kinzie
1
2
Ashland
Talman
Western
Washington
Madison
22 St.
6
7
8
26 St.
Western Ave.
31 St.
9
11
35 St.
10
39 St.
Ave
12
14
13
47 St.
Grove
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
55 St.
Cottage
18
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
19
So. Parkway
20
71 St.
LEGEND
(Number persons per square mile.)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = one member of Grace Presbyterian Church.
Circle = one member of Providence Baptist Church.
LILYDALE
91 St.
C.&W.I.R.R.
State
97 St.
21
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
23
Ashland
MORGAN PK.
Halsted
107 St.
115 St.
22

APPENDIX IV

THE STOREFRONT CHURCH - ASSET OR LIABILITY?

I suppose they're all right. If anybody wants to preach he can do a lot of good if it's in a storefront or in a regular church. The young people need all the religion they can get because the world is so full of wickedness. I don't know what it's coming to.
(A house wife living North of Thirty-first Street).

I am certainly very much against them. They are demoralizing to our race. The field is overwhelmed with them. The lower class of people supports them and I feel that it is just another place to to to express their pent-up emotions. I think the people of this type are in the first stages of insanity.
(A pastor of an exclusive church with many members in higher income and educational brackets.)

Two hundred and twenty-six, or almost half of all Negro churches were "storefronts" in 1937 (and 152 others worshipped in buildings other than edifices. Most people lump them all as storefronts). Most of these seat less than 50 persons. Baptists account for 47 out of every hundred such churches and the Holiness group for about 31 per cent. Yet most students have neglected the study of the storefront, as Mays and Nicholson pointed out in their study of "The Negro's Church," despite the fact that on any average Sunday at least eight thousand persons are worshipping in them. What is their raison d'etre?

The storefront members themselves indicate some of the values which they feel inhere in their churches through such statement as the following:

Poorest Big as the Richest

. . . . one has to go to one of the large churches early on Sunday morning to get a seat, one has to be dressed in style or feel out of place, and there is not enough individuality and friendship in a large church as in one of these storefronts.

In a big church the preacher don't know you unless you make big donations or you are an officer of some kind. With my church it is different. We are more like churches in the South, everybody is recognized. The poorest man is in the church just as big as the richest.

"Times Got Tough"

I got religion in 1929. I was baptized at the Baptist church. I worked with the Pastor's Aid club for three years, then I could not keep up with this group because the times got tough with us and I did not have the clothes like I wanted and all the people that go to that church have good clothes. So I dropped my membership with___and joined this church. This church had about fifty members when I joined. The reason that I joined a small church was because the people in this church don't pay so much attention to how you are dressed, all they want is that you be a Christian and attend church regularly. We have worked hard to build our church and we have done a fairly good job of recruiting and we have about one hundred members now that attend.

A few non-members also defend the storefront, as in the case of a bartender who said:

My way of thinking is that the church is a good influence. I was taught at home to go to church, and I have never gotten away from that teaching. Well I would say that the storefront churches are all right, for the reason that I believe that it makes no difference where you serve God, the main point is that you should. I am sure that the storefront church will be able to interest some people that otherwise would not go to church at all, for they are used to small churches at home, and these large churches that we have here, are too large, the people are too many to be known and those people at the small church is used to knowing everybody, so you see the large church does not seem like home to them, and they stay away.

A Negro business man in an area of many storefronts stated:

Many of the older people especially from the South like small churches, because they are more homelike. . . . . Then, too, the people are poor, and some of them can't dress fancy enough to want to be seen in a big church. . . . Some want to lead the prayer meetings, teach Sunday school and the like who feel that their old backwood prayers and their manner of speech won't fit into the larger churches.

Two other non-members commented:

Yes, a church whether it be small or large is a help in the community. The most low type of a person when he nears a church will look up and respect the house of God. If we had more churches and less taverns and policy stations, Chicago would be a better place to live in.

Well, I tell you how I think about them. You've seen men working on a project. Well, one does this and one does that. Now one man may be holding a flag, and another may be down in the ditch digging. Well, the man who holds the flag is just as important to the superintendent as the man digging down in the ditch. His job may not look big but it's just as important as any other.

> That's the way it is with these little storefronts. See God knows what each one is capable of. Now, a man like my pastor, Rev._____ is able to take care of a big church. These preachers in these little churches wouldn't be able to take care of a big church like _____. They all do good in their way.

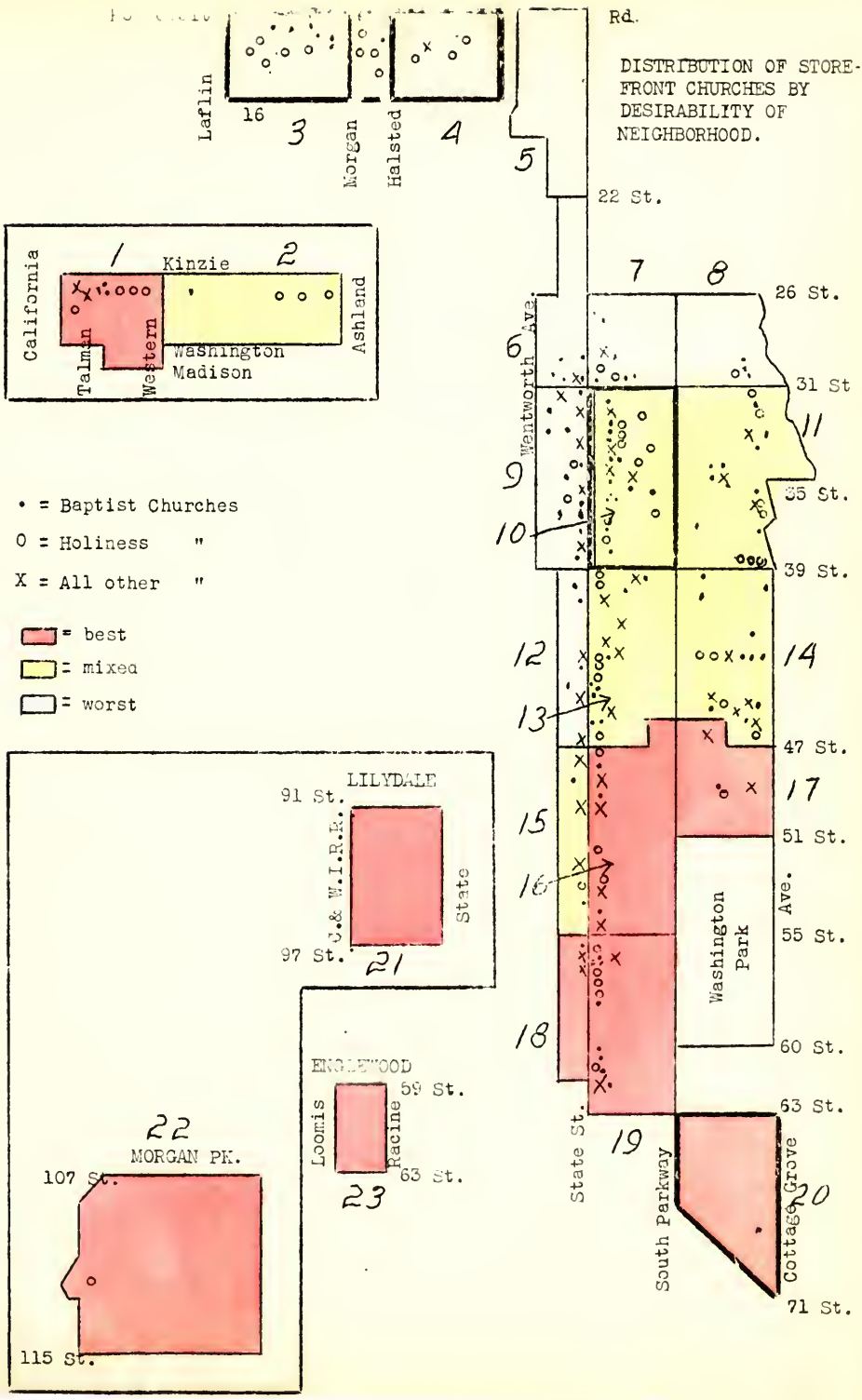
A member became heated in her defense:

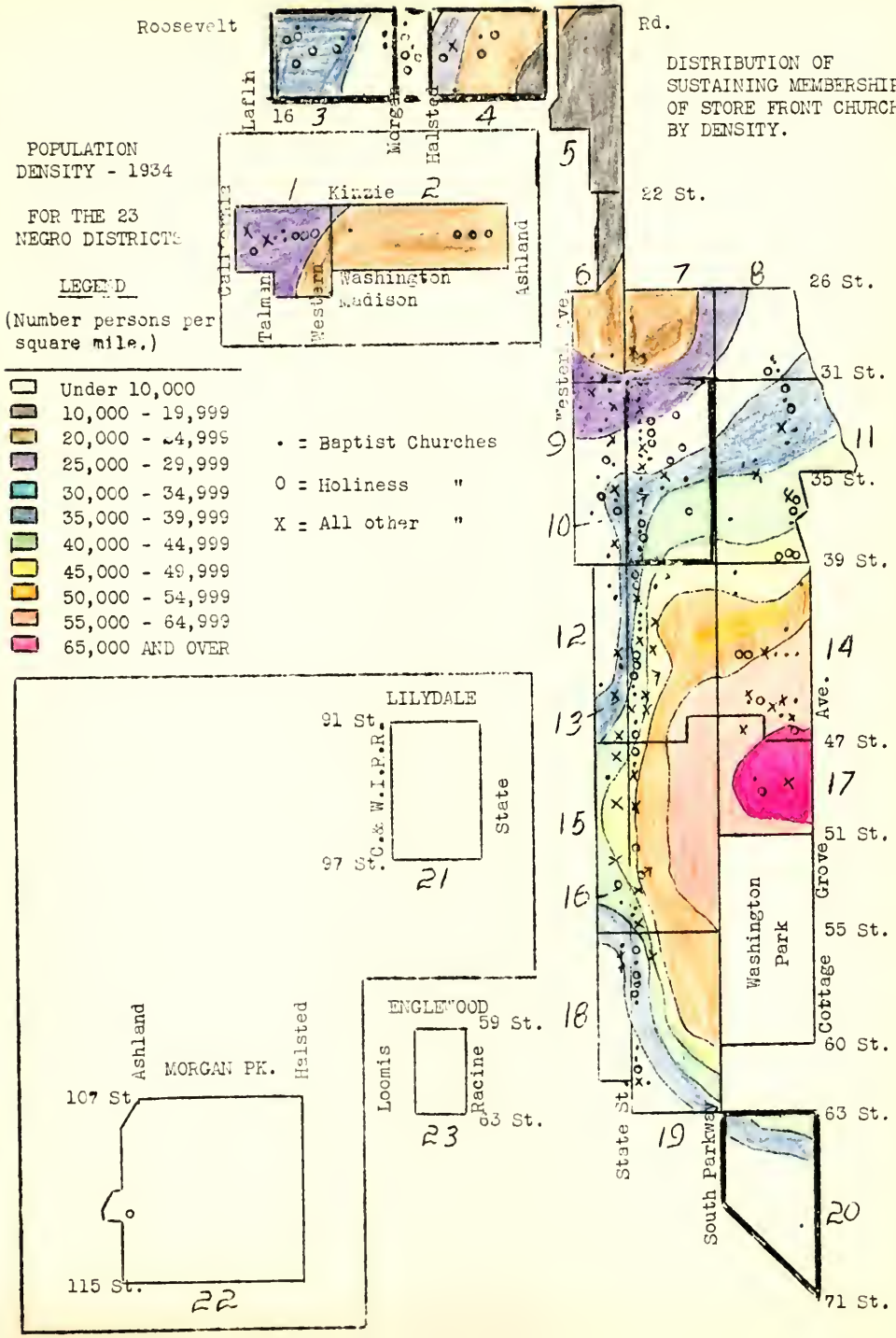
> Yes, I go to church to hear a sermon and not political speeches like you hear in big churches. A lot of people make fun of storefront churches because they belong to some large church that owes fifty or sixty thousand for their church they bought from the Jews, for which they'll be paying the next hundred years. They are ignorant. All they want is to say "I belong to so-and-so's church."

A glance at the map on the next page reveals the significant fact that such churches tend to be characteristic of areas north of Forty-seventh Street and west of State Street, with clusters on State Street and the "cross streets" in these areas. This distribution is due mainly to the availability of cheap rentals in less desirable business districts. Churches on the east side of Cottage Grove Avenue are not shown on the map. There is a tendency for such churches to follow the movement of population, as can be seen from a study of District 14 on the next map. This cluster of churches is on the edge of the most dense area in the community but lack of available business property in District 17, a "best" area prevents them from falling in the most dense area.

A part of the antagonism expressed toward the storefront church results from the fact that persons in Districts 19 and 20 think that the presence of storefronts is an indication that a neighborhood is depreciating. Such comments as the following indicate this:

> The thing we are being bothered with at the present time are storefront churches--they are beginning to spring up in this community. I don't know why, but this is a sore spot with me--I found out there are many storefront churches. I have found out that policy stations seem to hover around the same neighborhoods so we are going to fight these things to a finish in this community. We certainly hope to attain results.

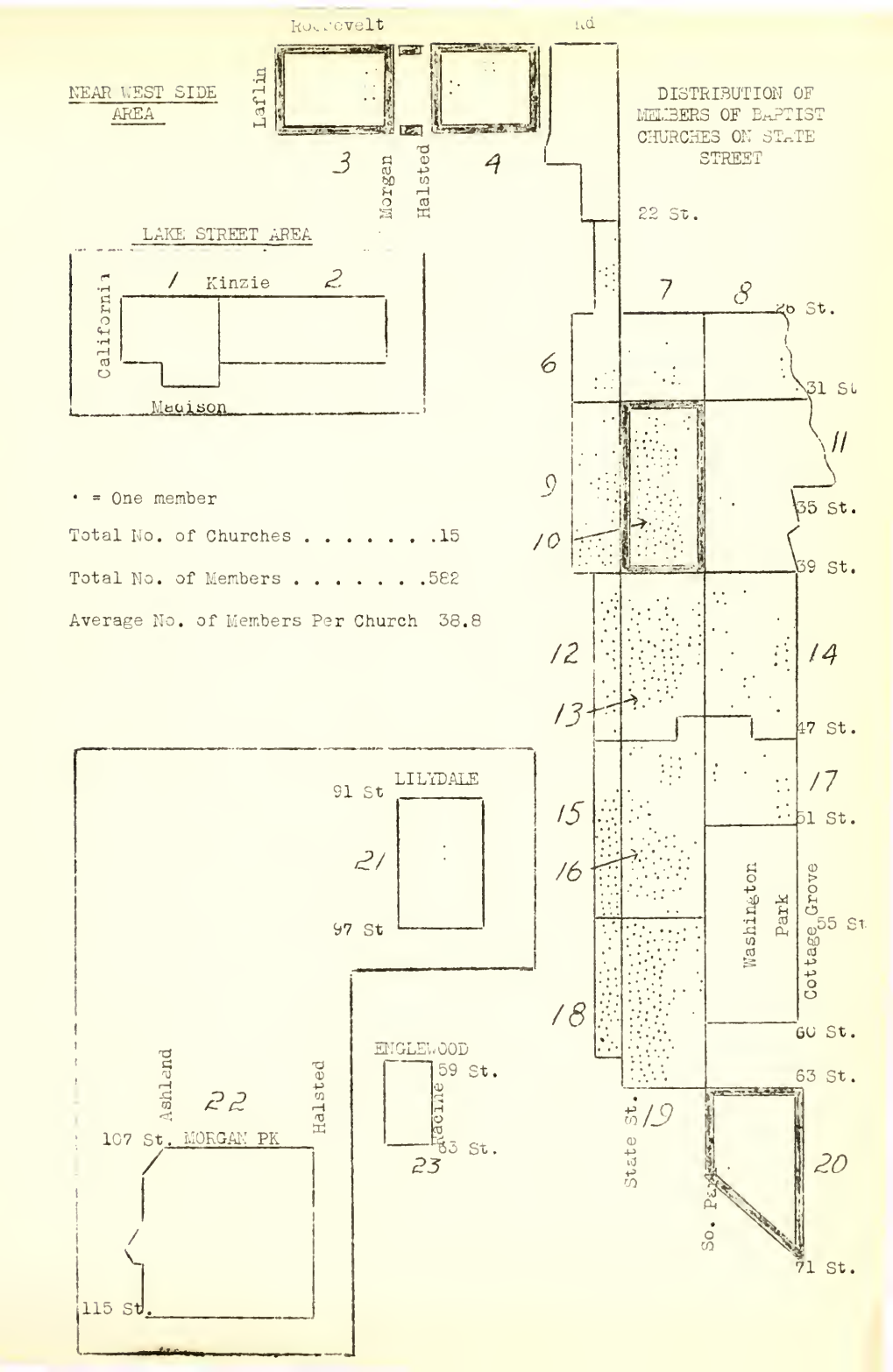

Rd.
DISTRIBUTION OF STORE-FRONT CHURCHES BY DESIRABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD.
Laflin
16
3
Morgan
Halsted
4
5
22 St.
1
Kinzie
2
California
Talman
Western
Washington
Madison
Ashland
7
8
26 St.
6
Wentworth Ave.
31 St
11
9
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
13
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
Ave.
55 St.
18
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
19
South Parkway
20
Cottage Grove
71 St.
• = Baptist Churches
O = Holiness "
X = All other "
= best
= mixed
= worst
LILYDALE
91 St.
C.& W.I.R.R.
State
97 St.
21
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
23
22
MORGAN PK.
107 St.
115 St.

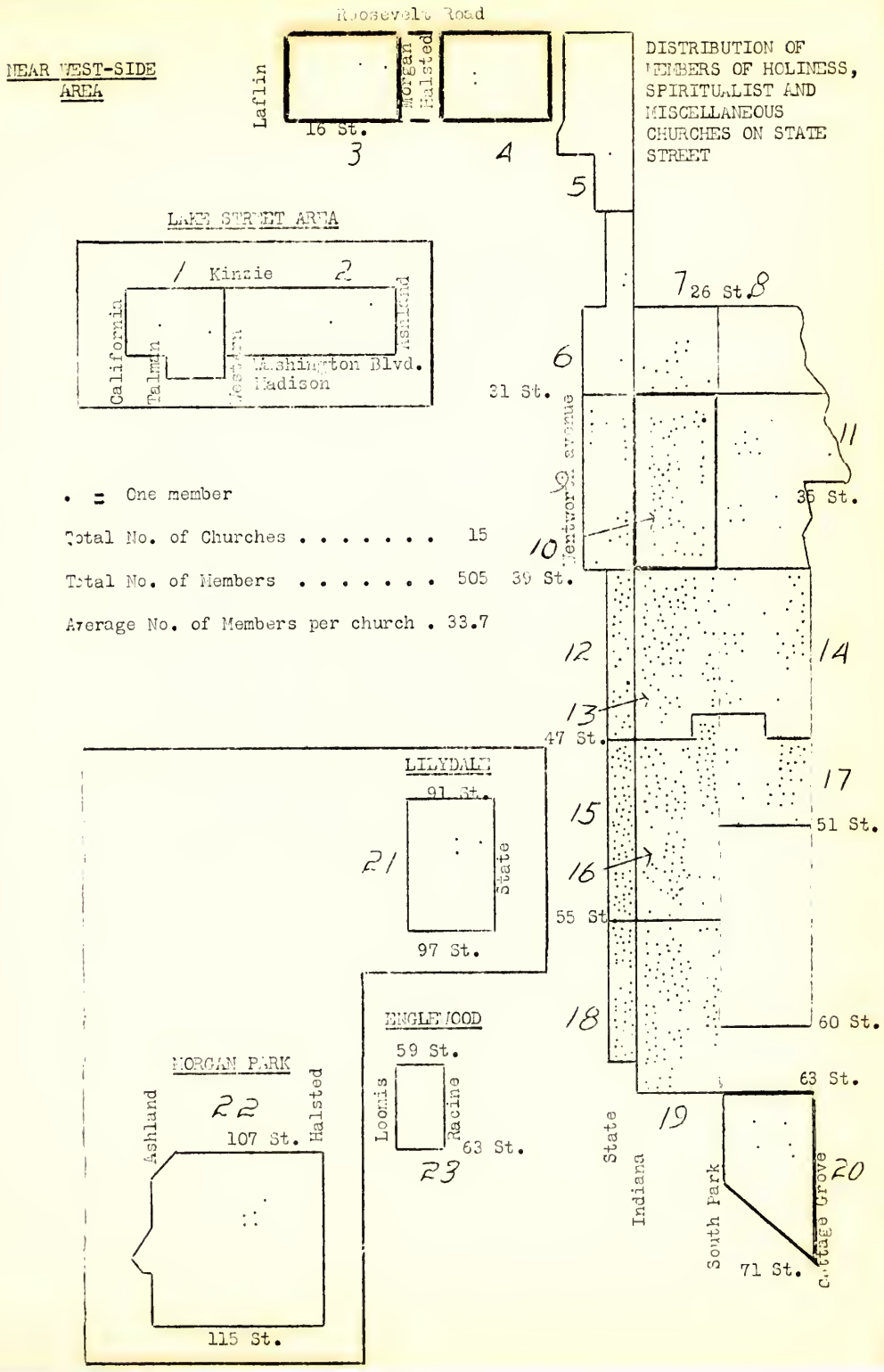

Roosevelt
Rd.
DISTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP OF STORE FRONT CHURCHES BY DENSITY.
POPULATION DENSITY - 1934
FOR THE 23 NEGRO DISTRICTS
LEGEND
(Number persons per square mile.)
Under 10,000
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 29,999
30,000 - 34,999
35,000 - 39,999
40,000 - 44,999
45,000 - 49,999
50,000 - 54,999
55,000 - 64,999
65,000 AND OVER
• = Baptist Churches
O = Holiness "
X = All other "
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
Kinzie
California
Talman
Western
Washington
Madison
Ashland
22 St.
26 St.
31 St.
35 St.
39 St.
Western Ave.
Ave.
47 St.
51 St.
Grove
55 St.
Cottage
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
South Parkway
71 St.
Washington Park
LILYDALE
91 St.
97 St.
C. & W.I.R.R.
State
21
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
63 St.
Loomis
Racine
23
MORGAN PK.
Ashland
Halsted
107 St.
115 St.
22
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20

I made it my business one time to inspect State Street from thirty-ninth to Sixtieth and counted 39 storefront churches. I also made it my business to interview several business men on State Street and asked them if they were of the same opinion as myself. They felt that these storefront churches were actually doing more harm than good, because they can only rent, in most cases, stores that could not very well be used for any other purposes. I found where many of the storefront churches were buildings almost falling down, or there is something wrong with the places in most cases. So of course the owners of these stores, white in most cases, are glad to rent them and get something. They feel that some income from these buildings is better than getting none at all.

One of these business men actually came out and said that these storefront churches were a higher form of racketeering. He actually thought they had some connection with policy, because it had been told to him that some of these churches actually give numbers. It is my belief that many of the preachers of these storefront churches do this rather than work, and that is the only way I can see it. I am very sorry to say, but we have three storefront churches out here.

Store front churches do not draw their membership only from the less desirable residential areas, despite the fact that memberships tend to cluster around the churches. The maps on the next two pages represent the distribution of the 1,087 members of 30 State Street churches. These churches tend to be small, with an average of 38.8 members per church, in the case of the Baptist churches; and 33.7 members per church, in the case of Holiness churches. Members tend to be scattered over the whole "Black Belt," even as far east as Cottage Grove Avenue. They are almost totally absent from Woodlawn, (District 20) however, and from Districts 8 and 11. Their absence from the former area might be attributed to the general economic level of the community and is even more striking when we note that there is only one such church in this District, and a total of only five churches in the area.


NEAR WEST SIDE AREA
Roosevelt
Rd
Laflin
3
Morgan
Halsted
4
DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF BAPTIST CHURCHES ON STATE STREET
22 St.
LAKE STREET AREA
California
1
Kinzie
2
Madison
7
8
6
31 St
11
9
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
13
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
Washington Park
Cottage Grove
55 St
18
60 St.
63 St.
State St.
19
20
So. Park
71 St.
• = One member
Total No. of Churches 15
Total No. of Members 582
Average No. of Members Per Church 38.8
91 St
LILYDALE
21
97 St
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Racine
63 St.
23
Ashland
22
Halsted
107 St. MORGAN PK
115 St.


NEAR WEST-SIDE AREA
Roosevelt Road
Laflin
Morgan
Halsted
16 St.
3
4
5
DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF HOLINESS, SPIRITUALIST AND MISCELLANEOUS CHURCHES ON STATE STREET
LAKE STREET AREA
1
Kinzie
2
California
Talman
Western
Ashland
Washington Blvd.
Madison
7
26 St.
8
6
31 St.
Centennial avenue
11
35 St.
10
39 St.
12
14
13
47 St.
17
15
51 St.
16
55 St.
18
60 St.
63 St.
19
20
State
Indiana
South Park
Cottage Grove
71 St.
LILYDALE
91 St.
21
State
97 St.
ENGLEWOOD
59 St.
Loomis
Racine
63 St.
23
MORGAN PARK
22
Ashland
107 St.
Halsted
115 St.
• = One member
Total No. of Churches 15
Total No. of Members 505
Average No. of Members per church . 33.7

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CHAPTER II

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